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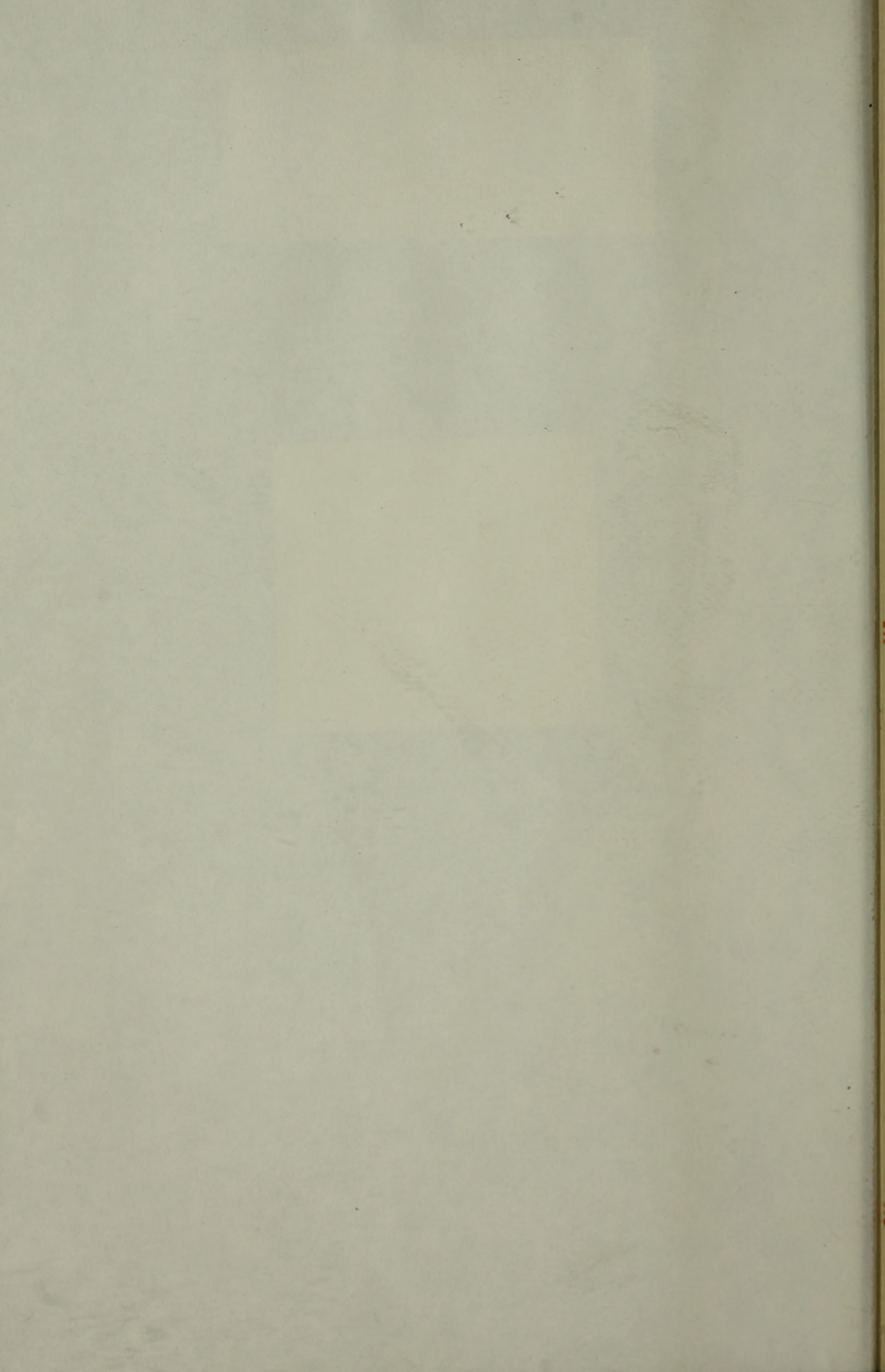
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# The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

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Julius Kellersberger: A Swiss as Surveyor  
and City Planner in California, 1851-1857  
*By* JACK J. STUDER

Pioneering Land Development in the Californias:  
An Interview with David Otto Brant  
*Edited, with an Introduction,*  
*By* NOEL J. STOWE

Sketches of Dr. Glen Owen Hardeman:  
California Gold Rush Physician  
*By* NICHOLAS P. HARDEMAN

San Francisco, 1831—A Pictorial Essay  
*By* ROBERT A. WEINSTEIN

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MARCH 1968

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# California Historical Society Quarterly

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Vol. XLVII	Contents for March 1968	No. 1
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Julius Kellersberger: A Swiss as Surveyor and City Planner in California, 1851-1857	3
By Jack J. Studer	
Pioneering Land Development in the Californias: An Interview with David Otto Brant	15
Edited, with an Introduction, by Noel J. Stowe	
Sketches of Dr. Glen Owen Hardeman: California Gold Rush Physician	41
By Nicholas P. Hardeman	
San Francisco, 1831—A Pictorial Essay	<i>Insert between pages 72 and 73</i>
By Robert A. Weinstein	
To California on the <i>Sarah Sands</i> : Footnote Eight	73
By Kenneth M. Johnson	
Book Reviews	75
News of the Society	
In Memoriam	89
Book of Remembrance	92

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## BOOK REVIEWS

- PITT, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of Spanish-Speaking Californios, 1846-1890*, by Rudolph F. Acuña 75
- HAWGOOD, *America's Western Frontiers: The Exploration and Settlement of the Trans-Mississippi West*, by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. 76
- GIFFEN, ed., *The Diaries of Peter Decker: Overland to California in 1849 and Life in the Mines, 1850-1851*, by John A. Hussey 77
- SMITH, KESSELL, AND FOX, *Father Kino in Arizona*, by Ernest J. Burrus 79
- MURRAY, ed., BROWNE, *Explorations in Lower California*, by William Michael Mathes 80
- HAMMOND AND MORGAN, *Captain Charles M. Weber, Pioneer of the San Joaquin and Founder of Stockton, California*, by Joseph A. McGowan 81
- DORSET, *Historic Ships Afloat*, by Dallas E. Livingston-Little 83
- KENNEALLY, *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives: A Calendar*, by Francis J. Weber 83
- BEEBE AND CLEGG, *The Trains We Rode*, by Donald Duke 85
- KEMBLE, ed., *To California and the South Seas: The Diary of Albert G. Osburn, 1849-1851*, by Richard W. Barsness 86
- BAUMGARTNER, comp., *Oregon Historical Quarterly Index, 1940-1960: Volumes XLI-LXI*, by Manuel P. Servín 87



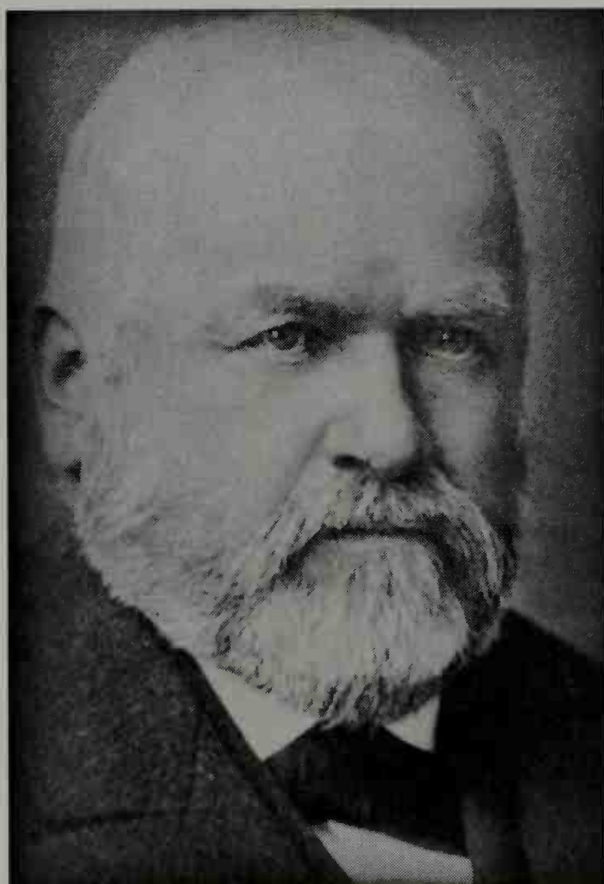
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# Julius Kellersberger

## A Swiss as Surveyor and City Planner in California, 1851-1857

*By* JACK J. STUDER

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*Courtesy of Mrs. Annie Kellersberger Schnelle.*

Julius Kellersberger

EARLY IN 1851 Swiss-born Julius Kellersberger and his wife Caroline arrived from Galveston, Texas, in San Francisco.<sup>1</sup> This was the end of their honeymoon sea voyage around the Cape Horn.

On his arrival he first went to the gold mining areas but soon realized that mining would not be a desirable activity for him. On his return to San Francisco he became aware of the tremendous opportunities open

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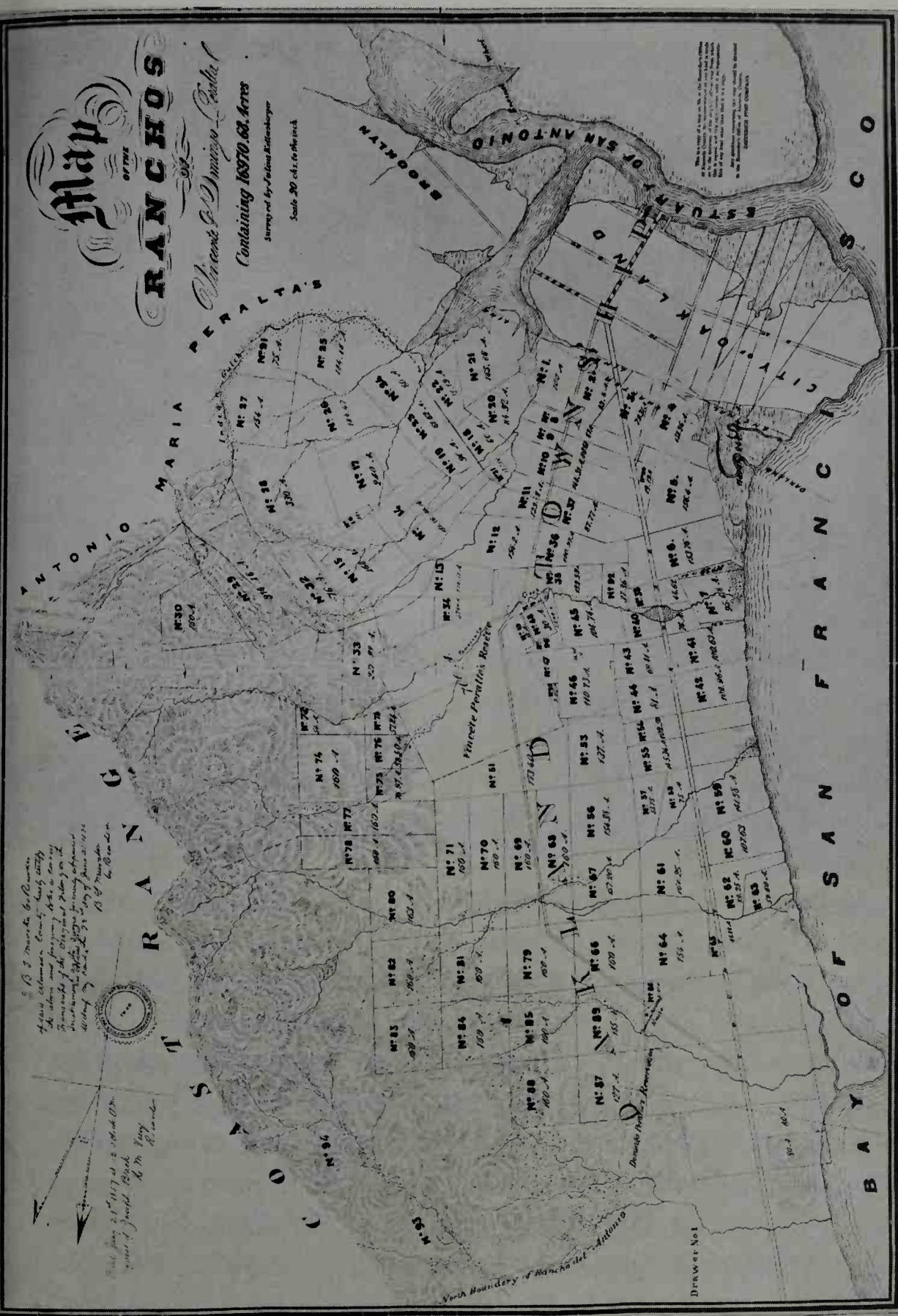
to him to use his training as a surveyor, which he had acquired studying in Vienna, Austria,<sup>2</sup> and which he had practiced in New York City.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, a feverish activity had started in California to survey the public lands. The settlers arriving in large streams needed a legal base to document their landholdings using surveys and maps, and consequently land surveying started to boom. An indication of this boom is evidenced by the fact that on March 3, 1851, Congress created the office of a U.S. Surveyor General for California for laying out the basic grid of meridians, base, and standard lines. These were the prerequisite for further subdivisions into townships and sections. On April 17, 1850, the California legislature created the office of a Surveyor General of the State of California to which the county surveyors would have to report annually.<sup>4</sup> The counties had been established by the California legislature on February 18, 1850 (Act confirmed April 25, 1851).<sup>5</sup> These counties further needed their own surveyors and so did the cities and towns. This was the historical background for Kellersberger's professional activity as a surveyor and city planner.

Settlers had started to cross San Francisco Bay arriving on the shores of the opposite side, Contra Costa. Julius Kellersberger was among the few people making the crossing but not squatting on Mexican-owned lands. Once there he encountered squatters, especially the well known trio: Edson Adams, Horace W. Carpentier, and Andrew J. Moon. They had established themselves on the land, which actually belonged to the sons of Luis Peralta. These settlers were fully aware of the fact that this land represented riches in their grasp, if they were able to consolidate their holdings and could develop a townsite and sell land. All this required that the land be properly surveyed and a townsite planned. Kellersberger jumped at his opportunity, not to buy land, but to make the plans for a new town on an ideal location.

Andrew J. Moon became acquainted with Kellersberger and secured his services for laying out a town and doing the necessary surveys of all the land which the trio Adams, Carpentier, and Moon held.<sup>6</sup> In Moon's own words,<sup>7</sup> Contra Costa had in May, 1852, only seventy-five to one hundred inhabitants; there were only a half dozen houses but no streets, only cattle trails. The houses were simple wooden shanties. The land was covered with an abundant growth of brush and of live oaks where wild animals and Peralta's cattle roamed.





Map of Ranchos of Vicente and Domingo Peralta, Surveyed by Julius Kellersberger.

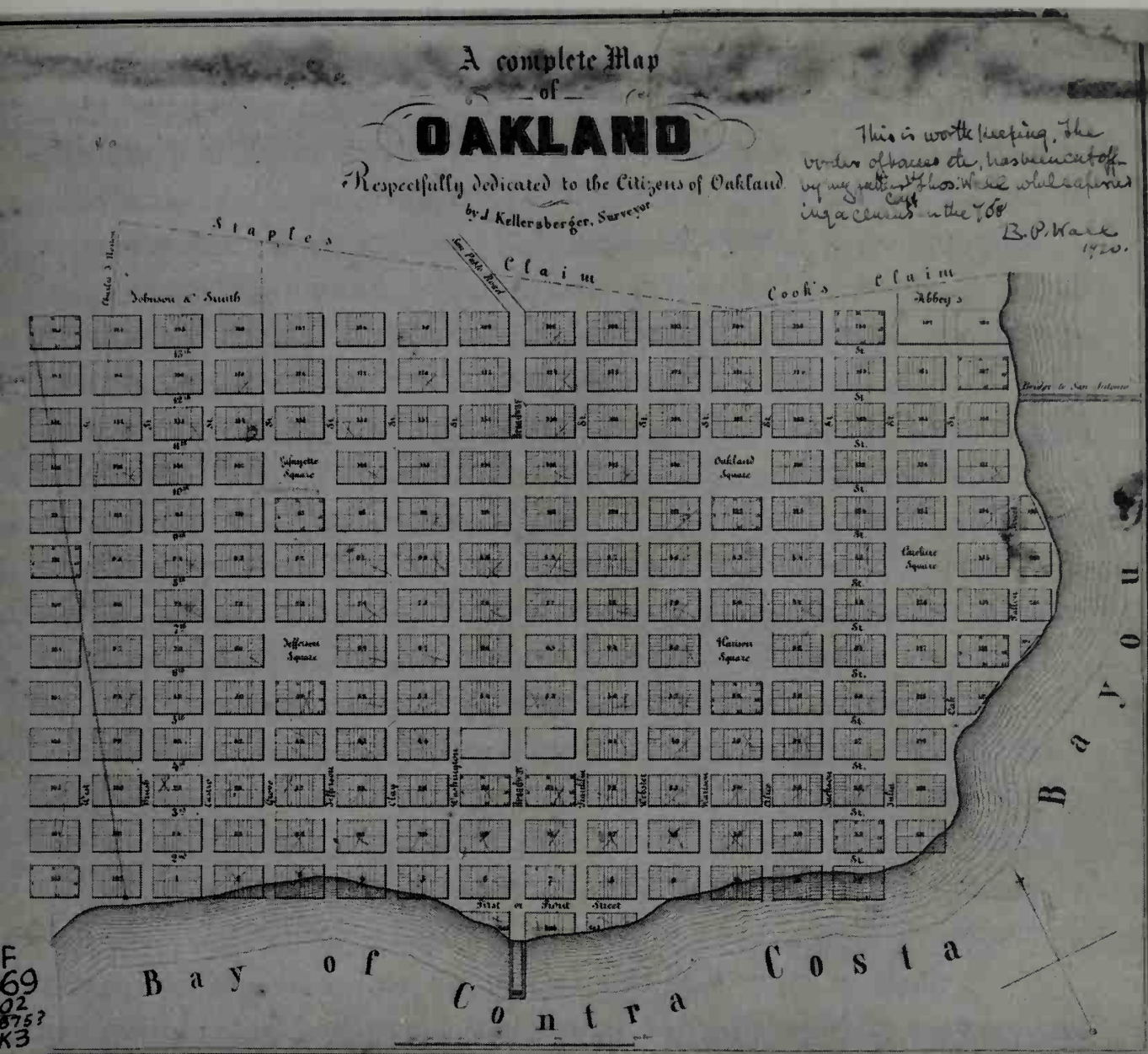
Kellersberger knew how to plan a modern town, his experience gained in New York City was now to be applied here. He planned very wisely, and his design shows much foresight. He provided a grid of streets with perpendicular intersections. Their width was generous, namely 80 feet. One street, Main Street (now Broadway), was made 110 feet wide. Thus he allowed enough space for even the heavy traffic of a hundred years later. The city blocks were made 200x300 feet. The wisdom of his planning is exemplified further by his provision of five squares which he envisioned as parks. Thus he created the plan for the nucleus of the Town of Contra Costa, as shown on page 7. On this map two streets are named after some American women. Alice Street was named after the only sister of Horace W. Carpentier; Julia Street after Edson Adams' sister (this street was later renamed Madison Street).<sup>8</sup> One of the five squares was called Caroline Square, after Julius Kellersberger's wife Caroline.

Kellersberger's plan also provided space for a Civic Center. He left two city blocks unnamed on both sides of Broadway (formerly Main Street) between Fourth and Fifth streets. These two blocks were originally used as parks, but later, after the Alameda County seat was located there, one of the two squares became the site of the County Courthouse,<sup>9</sup> the other one the site of the Hall of Records.

On May 4, 1852, Contra Costa was incorporated as Town of Oakland. Kellersberger labeled his plan "Complete Map of Oakland, respectfully dedicated to the Citizens of Oakland" (see page 7). Another map he dedicated to Andrew J. Moon,<sup>10</sup> who had obtained the services of Kellersberger. It is of importance to learn that numerous deeds refer to the Kellersberger map: the first deed mentioning it is that made on October 16, 1852, recorded in Contra Costa County.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile another important survey was in store for Julius Kellersberger. Contra Costa County to which Oakland belonged became preoccupied with establishing roads as important public highways. Consequently, the Board of Supervisors of Contra Costa County ordered on July 15, 1852, that a road between Oakland and San Pablo should be viewed out and located by the most possible and practicable route.<sup>12</sup> On November 13, 1852, a road 100 feet wide, was ordered to be surveyed and marked, going in a straight line from a point on Main Street in Oakland to a point 8 rods (132 feet) west of Victor Castro's





Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

A Complete Map of Oakland by Julius Kellersberger, Surveyor.

house and from there to San Pablo or the houses of Joaquín Castro and former governor Juan B. Alvarado.<sup>13</sup> On December 27, 1852, the board of supervisors ordered that R. H. Robinson, of the Committee on Roads of Contra Costa County be authorized to employ a surveyor to survey and locate the road from Oakland to San Pablo and to be paid the same fees to which a county surveyor was entitled. Entrusted with that road survey was Julius Kellersberger. He did this work during the early months of 1853. He had to choose an appropriate point on the Main Street in Oakland to start the road. The road (see above) was simply called County Road and is today San Pablo Avenue. Kellersberger's bill was presented to the board of supervisors on November 7, 1853,



and ordered paid.<sup>14</sup> A technicality became involved in this transaction. Alameda County had been created on March 25, 1853, by an act of the California legislature, slicing off part of Contra Costa County. Thus, the road now involved both counties, but a proper participation by Alameda County in the expenses had been arranged.

Recognition of Julius Kellersberger's excellent work came when the board of trustees of Oakland created the office of town surveyor in their meeting of April 30, 1853, and resolved to hold an annual election on May 9, 1853, for the election of charter officers of the town; namely, five trustees, one marshal, one surveyor, one treasurer, and one assessor. On motion of Andrew J. Moon, it was resolved that J. Kellersberger and H. A. Brown be appointed as judges of the election. This occurred because Moon, no doubt, respected Kellersberger's integrity as did the people who elected him as town surveyor.<sup>15</sup>

When the town of Oakland was incorporated into the city of Oakland on March 25, 1854, it became entitled to have a city engineer. Kellersberger acted as the first city engineer of Oakland whose first mayor was Horace W. Carpentier.<sup>16</sup> On June 17 of the same year, Kellersberger was instructed to "run out" Fourth, Seventh, and Fourteenth streets to their termination at the Bay, which meant he had to extend his surveys.

Unfortunately Julius Kellersberger did not enjoy his position as city engineer long. Under Mayor Carpentier a new ordinance was approved to create the office of city engineer. Consequently, an election for city engineer was held on October 28, 1854. Two candidates, Kellersberger and Witcher ran. The first vote resulted in a tie. The second vote gave a majority of one vote to Witcher<sup>17</sup>—an outcome which Kellersberger certainly did not deserve. To make situations more unpalatable it seems Witcher was not as qualified as Kellersberger. Thus it is reasonable to assume that Kellersberger was a victim of Carpentier's maneuvers. Kellersberger, a straight-forward and honest person, must have disliked Carpentier's chicanery. On the other hand, a man of Kellersberger's character was an obstacle for Carpentier's well known manipulations. This may explain why Carpentier's followers sought Kellersberger's defeat.

With his defeat, a new phase of Kellersberger's activities started. He had known Colonel Jack Hays, who was appointed on July 16, 1853,

United States Surveyor General for California residing in San Francisco.<sup>18</sup> Colonel Hays had bought land from Vicente Peralta's Rancho in 1852 and had moved his residence to Oakland in 1854. Colonel Hays being an enterprising and forceful personality, must have recognized Kellersberger's sound professional qualities as a surveyor because he appointed the latter a United States Deputy Surveyor on September 3, 1855.

As such, Kellersberger's work became even more important. He now became involved in the survey for the primary grid established by the United States Land Office. The highest possible order of accuracy was a must for these surveys because they served as the base for the subsidiary surveys by the counties and cities. Astronomical observations had to be made to fix certain key points for the map. Kellersberger was thus in his element—high accuracy in the surveys was what he cherished.

Appointment as United States Deputy Surveyor was by contract. Kellersberger's first contract of September 3, 1855, was for "Extending the Humboldt Meridian from the point of its present termination by Mr. Murray north to or near the State [of California] line. Also to extend the second standard line north . . . from said meridian West to the Pacific Ocean, and East as far as it can be extended with accuracy" . . .<sup>19</sup>. The work involved a survey of about one hundred miles and had to be finished before February 1, 1856.

Besides the accuracy of the work, this contract had other aspects. Kellersberger had to organize a surveying team and to finance the operation. Payment from the federal government was obtained only after all the field notes and plats were submitted.

What was needed as a minimum for such a team was described by Kellersberger himself.<sup>20</sup> The surveying party consisted, besides the surveyor himself, of two chain carriers to handle the surveyors chain, one flagman, two axe men to cut through the underbrush and woods, one assistant, a cook, and a wagoner. The equipment included besides the surveyor's instruments, a strong covered wagon, four mules, one horse, tents, kitchen utensils for camping, axes, shovels, picks, and good reliable arms. Provisions were needed to last for five to six months. Meat was obtained by hunting wild animals on the spot. Each member of the team took an oath that he would do a conscientious job. When the work was completed, the team members had to add their names to the field



notes. Kellersberger, obviously, had to choose suitable people for his team. He had the best experiences with runaway sailors: they were good workers and content with whatever situations they encountered.

Financing such an expedition required a loan with rather high interest rates; namely, 5 per cent per month. The loan could be repaid only after eight to nine months.

An idea about the amount involved can be gained only from statements made by another United States Deputy Surveyor.<sup>21</sup> The equipment cost amounted to about \$2,000. The assistant got a monthly salary of \$125, each other member of the team \$50 per month. Provisions came to about \$70 per month. The interest for the loan was added to the principal monthly, so that compound interest had to be paid. In addition, losses were inevitable by breakage of surveyors instruments, losses of animals, and breakage of wagons.

The contract required sureties for an amount just about double the value of the contract. The amount in the case of Kellersberger's contract was a \$9,000 guarantee for fulfillment of the contracted work. It is quite obvious that in those days a person had to have a reputation as a trustworthy person in order to find a bondsman for such a large amount. Kellersberger's first contract had as sureties<sup>22</sup> the well known San Francisco banker F. Argenti, an Italian, and as a second surety Kellersberger's brother Rudolph, who was at that time honorary consul for Switzerland in San Francisco.

The survey work, to be done by Kellersberger, was a continuation of that begun by another United States Deputy Surveyor, John S. Murray, of Eureka. Murray had meanwhile left Eureka on October 16, 1855, for San Francisco to report to Colonel Hays, the United States Surveyor General for California, on the work performed in Humboldt County during the summer of 1855.<sup>23</sup> Colonel Hays therefore was well aware of the special nature of that area. He wrote in a report to the United States Land Office in Washington: "The peculiar formation of this rugged portion of the State covered, as it is, for the most part with a dense growth of very large timber, has rendered its survey not only difficult, but very expensive."<sup>24</sup>

Kellersberger completed his work in time, because Colonel Hays forwarded the plats done by Kellersberger on March 19, 1856, to the General Land Office in Washington and on April 25 of the same year



payment was made.<sup>25</sup> A small amount, however, was retained until the field work had been checked by another United States Deputy Surveyor—a general procedure for the detection of any possible errors or inaccuracies.

In accordance with a contract of March 6, 1857, Deputy Murray, who had returned to Eureka on January 5, 1856, was entrusted with checking Kellersberger's work.<sup>26</sup> The essence of Murray's report was "Taking the work as a whole, I consider it well and faithfully executed and have no hesitation to report it as such."<sup>27</sup>

Julius Kellersberger probably lost money with this contract, it was a very small and undesirable contract. Kellersberger expressed this opinion in his memoirs in a humorous way "We poor Swiss, who have no uncle sitting in Congress and no brother in law in the Senate, had to survey those lands, which the Americans did not desire to do. But the position was a dignified one."<sup>28</sup>

Colonel Hays well knew that Kellersberger had been given an insignificant contract. Now, however, Colonel Hays helped Kellersberger with larger and more remunerative survey work. First, Kellersberger received a very desirable contract, as a private surveyor, to survey the ranchos of Vicente and Domingo Peralta. Hays and others had bought a sizable part of those ranchos. It was necessary to subdivide these holdings, so that each owner knew his actual property. This kind of work was quite involved, because subdivisions into lots had to be surveyed and properly marked. Kellersberger must have done this work during the months of February to April, 1856, because the results of this survey are contained in a deed of partition of July 1, 1856.<sup>29</sup> The corresponding map was completed somewhat later, it was recorded by the Alameda County Records office on January 21, 1857 (see page 5). In the partition deed the date of the recording of the map was left open. The reason for the delay in finishing the map was that Kellersberger obtained another contract from Colonel Hays on May 3, 1856. This contract appointed Julius Kellersberger as United States Deputy Surveyor for "extending the third standard north [Mount Diablo Meridian] from its present termination, West to the Pacific Ocean. Also to survey into townships such portions of the tract of country lying between the third and fourth standards north, not already surveyed, as can be properly performed; also to subdivide such of said townships as

are susceptible of cultivation and such only as are not mineral lands, and that are not covered by a foreign grant."<sup>30</sup> The work was limited to total one thousand miles of surveys. Thus, this contract required ten times more surveys than the previous Humboldt contract.

Kellersberger had to find bondsmen for a considerably larger sum; namely, \$25,000. By now he was already a well known figure in San Francisco, and he obtained as sureties William Schmolz, the owner of a surveyors supply store and instrument maker. The second surety was Ed. de Rutte, who was associated with the firm De Rutte & Co., of San Francisco, in which Kellersberger's brother Rudolph was a partner. The contract stipulated completion of the work by January 1, 1857. Kellersberger required less time, for he handed in all required details by September 30, 1856.

Now Julius Kellersberger had to complete the map of the ranchos of Vicente and Domingo Peralta. This he must have done before the end of 1856.

Having received larger contracts, Kellersberger was now able to compensate for his early loss. He had all reason to be satisfied with what he had accomplished so far. No doubt Colonel Hays regarded Julius Kellersberger as a very reliable and conscientious deputy surveyor. Kellersberger in turn had all reason to expect a continuation of this well begun activity. However, events happened which brought Kellersberger's work in California to an abrupt end.

In November, 1856, James Buchanan, a new President, had been elected. The President-elect wrote to a friend in a letter the following statement: "I cannot mistake the strong current of public opinion in favor of changing public funcionarios [*sic*], both abroad and at home, who have served a reasonable time. They say, and that, too, with considerable force, that if the officers under a preceding Democratic administration shall be continued by a succeeding administration of the same political character, this must necessarily destroy the party."<sup>31</sup>

After the inauguration of Buchanan, the idea of changing public officeholders became almost an obsession. This is forcefully expressed by J. F. Rhodes in his *History of the United States*: "When the great questions of the century had to be grappled with, Buchanan and his cabinet were devoting their time, strength, and ability to investigating the merits of candidates for postmasters, collectors, and tide-waiters. It



would not have been so pitiable had the search been simply to find men of business ability and integrity for the position; but that was not the problem.”<sup>32</sup> Rumors were circulating in San Francisco that Colonel Hays would also become a victim of the President’s idea. A flood of letters was sent to Washington pointing out the excellent qualifications of Colonel Hays as United States Surveyor General for California and the benefits resulting for the state of California from the vigorous pursuit of the surveys of public lands. This strong public support was of no avail, the President sent Colonel Hays a letter terminating his appointment as U.S. Surveyor General for California. Colonel Hays stayed in the office until September 8, 1857.<sup>33</sup> The next day his successor J. W. Mandeville took office.<sup>34</sup> This change affected the deputy surveyors also, as they—including Kellersberger—lost their positions.

President Buchanan later tried to remedy this evil of the spoils system somewhat as he appointed Colonel Hays as U.S. Surveyor General for the Territory of Utah on June, 1858. Colonel Hays knew about this appointment when he left his position in San Francisco. He had told Julius Kellersberger that such a possibility existed and, if he Kellersberger were interested in being a Deputy Surveyor in Utah, he would appoint him. But Kellersberger declined. Colonel Hays, incidentally, also refused the new position.

This turn of events proved frustrating and even humiliating for Kellersberger. He was fed up and was glad to obtain an offer from a firm in Mexico City contracting for the survey of a railway line or ships canal in Mexico. Kellersberger accepted and left California.<sup>35</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Private communication to the author from Julius Kellersberger’s granddaughter, Mrs. Annie Kellersberger Schnelle, Texas.

2. *Badener Kalender*, 1897, p. 42.

3. Private communication to the author from Julius Kellersberger’s granddaughter, Mrs. Annie Kellersberger Schnelle, Texas.

4. Act of Legislature, passed April 9, 1850, required county surveyors reports.

5. California Constitution, Article 12, Section 14, provided subdivision into counties.

6. Manuscript written by Andrew J. Moon’s daughter, Mrs. M. E. Hall, Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco, California.

7. Deposition by Andrew J. Moon, U.S. Supreme Court No. 9, State of California vs. The Southern Pacific Company.
8. Edson F. Adams, *Oakland's Early History*, p. 9, 1932.
9. Homer W. Buckley, "Court House Site," MS, Oakland Public Library, p. 116.
10. Manuscript written by Andrew J. Moon's daughter, Mrs. M. E. Hall, Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco, California.
11. Contra Costa County, Deeds, Bk. 2, p. 224.
12. Contra Costa County, Supervisors Records, Bk. 1, p. 12.
13. Ibid., p. 84.
14. Ibid., p. 188.
15. Trustees of Town of Oakland, Minutes, May 14, 1853.
16. City Council of Oakland, Minutes Bk. 2, p. 1, 10 (courtesy of Mr. Wm. G. Kirkham, City Engineer's Office, Oakland, California).
17. Ibid. p. 83 (Courtesy of Mr. Wm. G. Kirkham, City Engineer's Office, Oakland, California).
18. James Kimmins Greer, *Colonel Jack Hays*, p. 290.
19. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
20. Julius Kellersberger's Memoirs, MS, New York Public Library, New York.
21. U.S. General Land Office, Washington, D.C., Report, September 18, 1858, U.S. Surveyor General for California, p. 224.
22. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
23. Humboldt *Times*, January 5, 1856.
24. U.S. General Land Office, Washington, D.C., Report, September 30, 1855, U.S. Surveyor General for California, p. 138.
25. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Julius Kellersberger's Memoirs, MS, New York Public Library, New York.
29. Alameda County, Deeds, Bk. E, p. 486-493.
30. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
31. G. T. Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan*, II, 185.
32. J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 248.
33. James Kimmins Greer, *Colonel Jack Hays*, p. 307.
34. U.S. General Land Office, Washington, D.C., Report, September 30, 1857, U.S. Surveyor General for California, p. 145.
35. Julius Kellersberger's Memoirs, MS, New York Public Library, New York.



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# Pioneering Land Development in the Californias: An Interview with David Otto Brant

*Edited, with an Introduction,*  
*By* NOEL J. STOWE

---



*Courtesy of Title Insurance and Trust Co.*

O. F. Brant



*Courtesy of the California State Library.*

Harry Chandler



*Courtesy of the California State Library.*

Harrison Gray Otis

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NOEL J. STOWE, a Haynes Foundation and a Del Amo Foundation Fellow, is an assistant professor of history at Arizona State University.

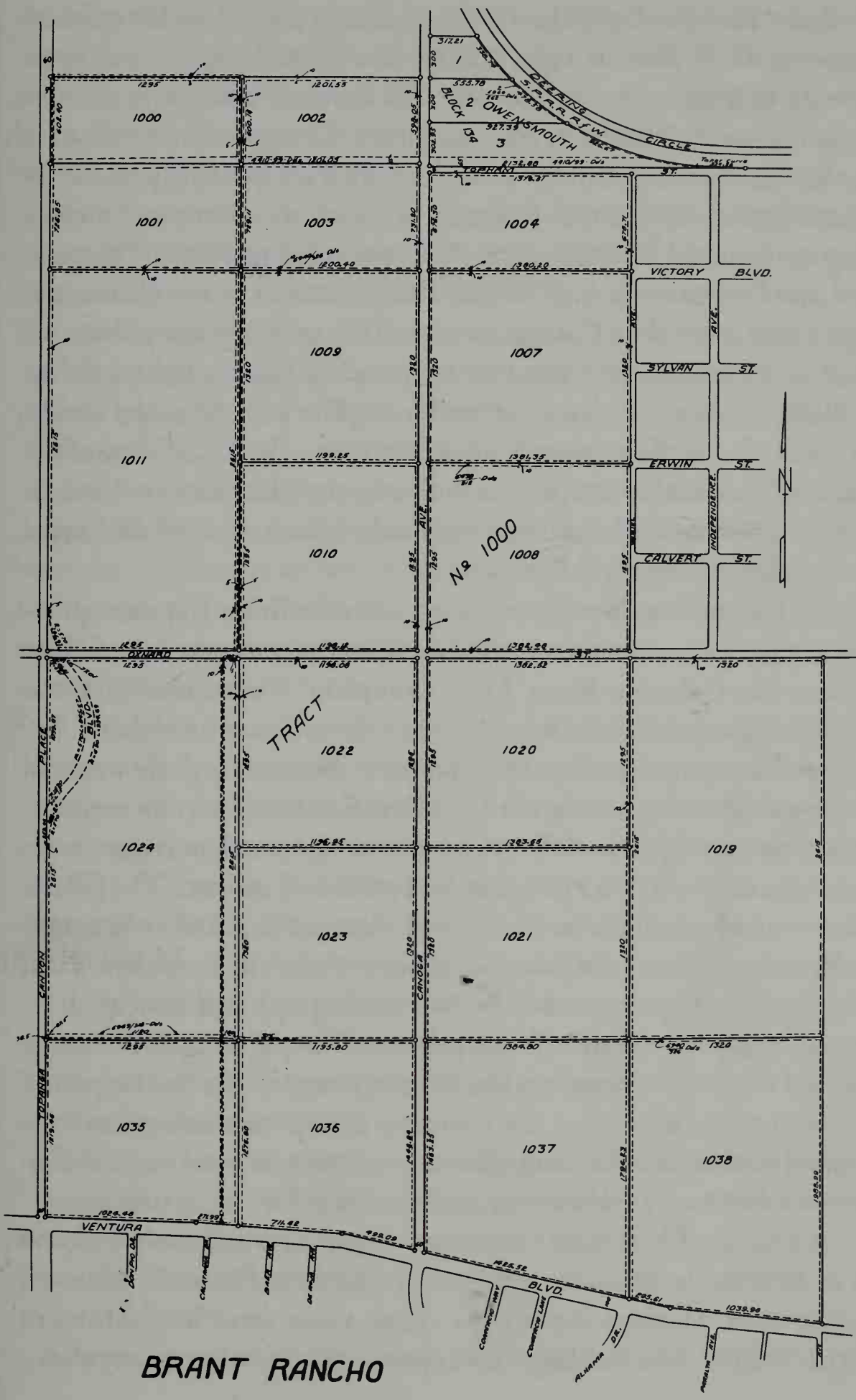
## INTRODUCTION

THE BOOM OF THE Eighties brought many people to Southern California. Among the many yet unimportant individuals who came during this decade was Otto Freeman Brant. Sickness in his family caused Brant to leave his Midwestern home for California. From a struggling start in Los Angeles real estate business, Brant emerged as an important figure in early twentieth century Southern California history. Soon after his arrival in Los Angeles an old friend Oliver P. Clark interested him in the title business. These two men secured control of the Los Angeles Abstract Company and then merged with their rival to form Title Insurance and Trust Company—now the largest title company in the nation.

O. F. Brant's success broadened his horizons; and soon he joined other notable California immigrants in several significant financial ventures, such as the Tejon Ranch in the Tehachapi Mountains, the Los Angeles Suburban Homes Company (developers of Tract 1000 in the San Fernando Valley), the California-Mexico Land and Cattle Company, its successor the Colorado River Land Company, S.A., and the initial phases of the Arrowhead Lake Company development. These undertakings are but a few of those of which Brant was a part, still they reflect his ingenuity and drive. Undertaken by a small core group of men, these Southern California developments illustrate the focusing of foresight and capital by men, such as Harrison Gray Otis, Harry Chandler, Frank X. Pfaffinger, William H. Allen, Jr., Moses H. Sherman, and, of course, O. F. Brant.<sup>1</sup> These individuals in turn encouraged their friends and associates to join them in their enterprises thus creating financial syndicates behind each operation.

Brant's importance to this group stemmed not only from his financial resources, prowess, foresight, or friends but also from his position as general manager of Title Insurance. His company could certify title to land holdings and offer trust agreements for the syndicate. In a similar position was Harry Chandler. For through his newspaper and its contacts he could wield an influence unavailable to the other partners yet vital to any business venture. Thus each member contributed some talent which provided the cohesiveness and mobility to make a successful operation.





From the Brant Papers.

Map of the Brant Rancho in the San Fernando Valley.

In the summer of 1963 I was asked if I would be interested in examining the Brant family papers which included not only material of O. F. Brant but also from the family interest retained in his original investments. O. F. died in 1922, and his son Robert Alston continued in the title business and together with his brothers and sisters participated in financial affairs as trust committee. The papers (which date from the turn of the century to the 1950's) are primarily those of O. F. and Robert A. Brant and consist of communications and memos relating to financial developments. Material relating to the Colorado River Land Company, S.A. (CRLC)<sup>2</sup>—the successor to the California-Mexico Land and Cattle Company—comprises a significant portion of the files, and I became interested in this phase of Brant activity. David Otto Brant, one of O. F.'s sons, offered to explain somewhat the family history and provide background information for the CRLC and show its relationship to other subjects included in the files. The transcribed interview which follows this introduction is the outcome of this intent and was taped during the fall of 1963.

David O. Brant was directly involved with the Brant Rancho operation in the San Fernando Valley and, in addition, represented the family interest in the Colorado River Land Company. Consequently, Brant dealt with these familiar items and more especially with the latter because I was most interested in this company. Since very little material has been published regarding the CRLC which is valid in its entirety, material concerning it is difficult to corroborate and correlate with Brant's reminiscences, the Brant files, and published matter.<sup>3</sup> The CRLC remains controversial, and in the eyes of some, such as Pablo Martínez in his *History of Lower California* or Gordon Stuart in his *Desert Gold*, it was notorious. Stuart wrote that "No cardiograph was ever used . . . but common report was that the corporation showed no signs of having a heart *not a trace*."<sup>4</sup> Yet others like Brant remember the hardships and struggles involved in owning the company and its vast acreage and the fact that if nothing else \$12,000,000.00 were spent to open and develop the land—a fact many individuals neither recognize nor appreciate.

The Colorado River Land Company owned approximately 800,000 acres of land in the Mexicali Valley and Colorado Delta. In addition, adjoining these Mexican lands were about 1,000 acres in California's Imperial Valley. The holdings and operation which were popularly



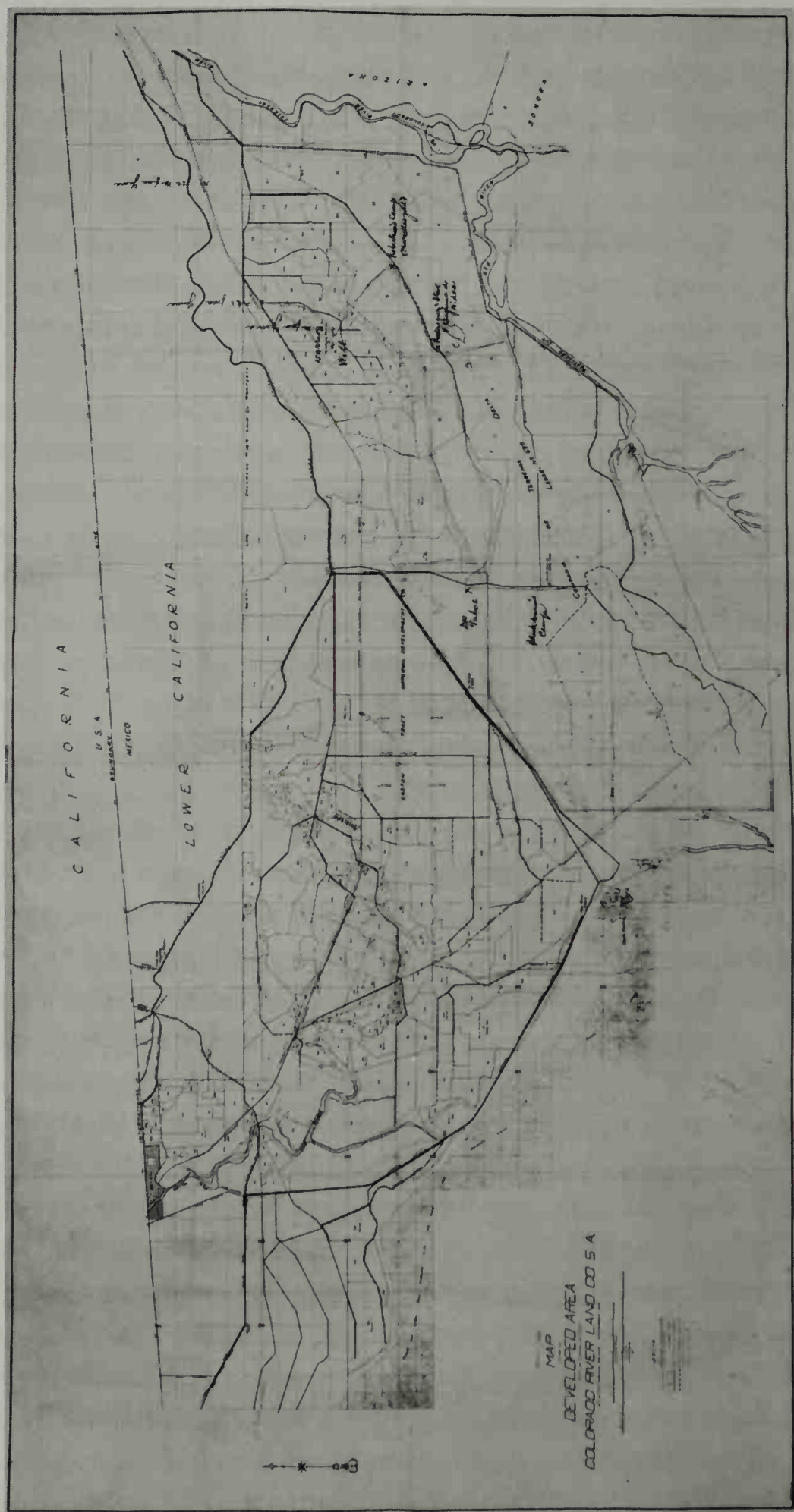
referred to as the C-M Ranch or C-M Company<sup>5</sup> stem from the formation and development of two companies: the above-mentioned Colorado River Land Company, S.A., and the California-Mexico Land and Cattle Company. The latter company was formed in August, 1902, as a California corporation.<sup>6</sup> This company became the principal shareholder in the Mexican corporation, the Colorado River Land Company which was organized November 18, 1902.<sup>7</sup> This latter company no doubt was created to hold the Mexican lands since foreigners were under landholding restrictions. Although the California company was dissolved in 1920,<sup>8</sup> its stock continued to have some value since it represented a major portion of the ownership in the Mexican company.<sup>9</sup>

Originally the principal owners, who were involved with both companies, included O. F. Brant, Harry Chandler, Frank X. Pfaffinger, William H. Allen, Jr., and Moses H. Sherman. David O. Brant succeeded his father following 1922 and represented the family interest. Arnold Haskell gradually assumed the place of Sherman as his representative and then as an heir of the estate. Haskell and Chandler became the most important of the group for the Chandler-Sherman Corporation<sup>10</sup> and in large measure continued the ranch operation when it would have failed for lack of funds.

Although a board of directors<sup>11</sup> conducted company affairs, the actual ranch operation was directed by a resident manager. This general manager was perhaps the keystone of the venture, for the ranch's success in large measure depended on his abilities and his co-ordination of activity. William K. Bowker and Harry H. Clark seem to be the most competent of the managers.<sup>12</sup> Bowker invested in the company as did Clark and his wife. Clark was perhaps the most notable manager for not only was he an important part of the company but he also commanded respect in Imperial and Mexicali Valley affairs. The entire operation rested with the manager, for his decisions could spell success or disaster for the company.<sup>13</sup>

Exactly when the company actually purchased its vast holdings and began cultivation and development is difficult to ascertain and confirm.<sup>14</sup> Several points, however, still remain clear. The land size stems from five basic acquisitions totaling 804,305.05 acres secured by October 30, 1916.<sup>15</sup>

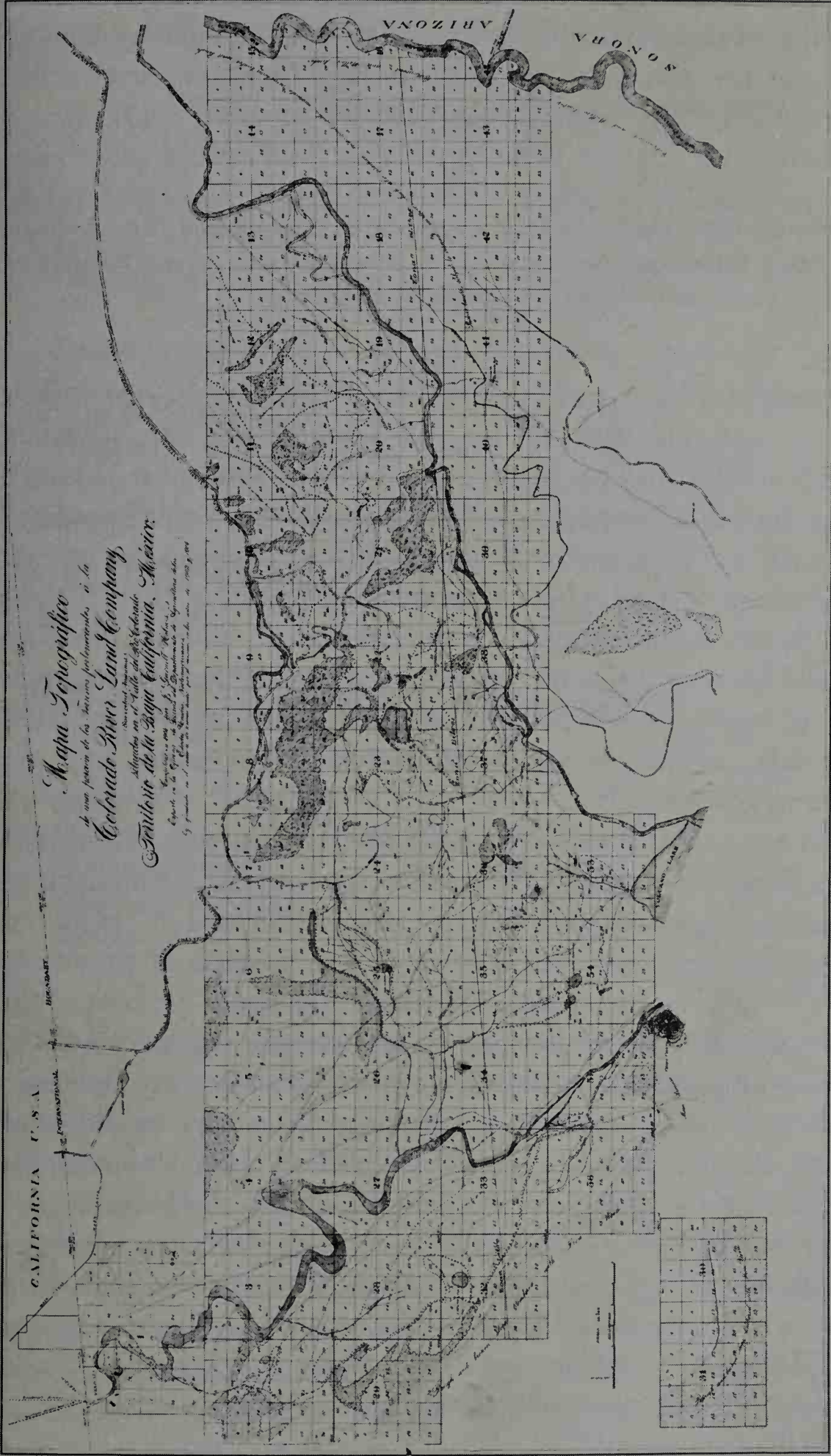
Originally much of these lands was included in an August 7, 1888,<sup>16</sup>



Map Showing the Developed Area of the Colorado River Land Company, 1928.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.





Topographical Map Showing a Portion of the Land Belonging to the Colorado River Land Company, 1904.

From the Brant Papers.

purchase made by Guillermo Andrade from the Mexican government during the administration of Porfirio Díaz. The acreage lay in both Sonora and the adjoining Territory of Baja California and totaled slightly over 358,235 hectares (one hectare equalling 2.471 acres). Andrade retained a portion of his land but also sold some large sections:

Thereafter the Colorado River Land Company, S.A., purchased from Andrade his remaining lands, and also acquired by purchase from certain vendees of Andrade all of the land which they bought from Andrade.<sup>17</sup>

An example of this type of purchase is the CRLC undivided interest in a 40,000-acre tract that William Hill, John Merritt, Antoine Borel, and William Bihler had purchased from Andrade, September 7, 1888.<sup>18</sup> By 1916 the CRLC owned an undivided half interest in the property and in 1918 was negotiating the purchase of another quarter interest from Christian Stengel who was attempting to sell it from Bihler's estate.<sup>19</sup> At first the company developed the land as a joint venture with Bihler and Merritt. After the acquisition of the Bihler interest, difficulties occurred with Merritt: for instance, the nonpayment of taxes. The acreage, situated in the Delta Region, still remained by 1935 nonrevenue producing.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to this land was a 55,000-hectare-tract acquired in 1904 from the Mexican Land and Colonization Company, Ltd. This holding, known as the Mountain Land Tract or Cocopah Lands (or Tract) was lost to the Mexican government in 1932. The problem of protecting this land from government seizure illustrates the major concern of the company for all its lands. In 1917 the government declared the land forfeited but agreed to company retention of 5,000 hectares. However, no application for such title was made since the acreage far exceeded this figure. But in 1925, when the CRLC ceded 2,271 hectares including 691 hectares of Cocopah Lands to the government, the Mexican government then ratified company title to its entire holdings which included the remaining Cocopah Lands. A reverse occurred in 1932 when the land was expropriated—an act quickly challenged in court by the CRLC. The court at Tijuana upheld the company title in 1933; but in May, 1934, the government obtained a reversal of this decision in the Mexican Supreme Court.<sup>21</sup>



The following list<sup>22</sup> indicates the five major holdings owned by the company and shows the CRLC acreage by 1916.

STATEMENT OF AREAS OF LAND OWNED BY  
COLORADO RIVER LAND COMPANY, S.A.

<i>Land Holding</i>	<i>Hectares</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Hectares</i>	<i>Acres</i>
<i>10,000 ACRE TRACT</i> <sup>23</sup>				
Original area	4,530.00	11,193.81		
		11,188.00 <sup>22</sup>		
Less sales as follows:	1,263.54	3,122.26	3,266.46	8,071.55
<i>ANDRADE TRACT</i> <sup>23</sup>				
Original area	90,469.94	223,554.84		
		223,560.00*		
Less sales as follows:	13,452.875	33,242.59	77,017.065	190,312.25
<i>PETALUMA TRACT</i> <sup>24</sup>				
Original area			182,115.00	450,013.45
				450,000.00*
<i>MOUNTAIN LAND TRACT (Cocopah Lands)</i> <sup>25</sup>				
Original area			55,000.00	135,907.20
<i>40,000 ACRE TRACT</i> <sup>26</sup>				
Original area,	16,188.00	40,001.20		
Company owns an		40,000.00*		
undivided one-half				
interest, or			8,094.00	20,000.60
			325,492.525	804,305.05

Even though company holdings were approximately 800,000 acres,<sup>27</sup> only a portion of this was ever developed. Indeed, the management considered only 600,000 acres "adaptable ultimately to cultivation . . . [with] none of the lands . . . adaptable to dry farming, as the average rainfall is only about three inches."<sup>28</sup> An interesting comparative statement appeared in the Ernst and Ernst *Report* of 1934 which stated that only 160,000 acres of the 700,000 total were "cultivable and another small portion . . . suitable for pasturage."<sup>29</sup>

During the first decades of activity, the CRLC invested heavily in its holdings to build canals and ditches, to construct roads, and to make other improvements necessary for land utilization.<sup>30</sup> At the outset the

ranch engaged in the cattle business on a large scale.<sup>31</sup> At the same time the company leased portions of its lands to various tenants including Americans, Mexicans, Japanese, and Chinese. Cotton, barley, and corn were the major crops grown by the tenants; and by 1918 72,000 acres were being leased and a large portion of this cultivated.<sup>32</sup> In 1934 the CRLC leased almost 70,000 acres which were utilized for the following crops:<sup>33</sup>

<i>Crop</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Rental Basis</i>
Cotton	43,000	1.50 pesos per acre plus 15% of crop
Wheat	20,000	1.50 pesos per acre plus 12% of crop
Barley	5,000	1.50 pesos per acre plus 12% of crop
Oats	200	1.50 pesos per acre plus 12% of crop
Alfalfa	1,100	12.00 pesos per acre
Corn	140	20.00 pesos per acre
Milo maiz	67	20.00 pesos per acre
Vegetables	77	12.00 pesos per acre
	<hr/> 69,584	

In addition to its own operation, the CRLC maintained a diversified interest in several other ventures in the Mexicali Valley. The First National Bank of Calexico,<sup>34</sup> the First Central Bank,<sup>35</sup> the Compañía Industrial Jabonera del Pacífico, S. C. L.,<sup>36</sup> the Delta Canal Company, S.A.,<sup>37</sup> the Lower Colorado River Ginning Company, S.A.,<sup>38</sup> and the Mercantile Bank of Mexicali<sup>39</sup> were all involved in one way or another with either the CRLC or its principal owners. The very diversity of the company's interests<sup>40</sup> makes its operation complex.

Thus the CRLC was intimately involved in the agricultural development of the Mexicali Valley. Headquarters for the company were on both sides of the border. Near Calexico was a ranch house for the American operation. In Mexicali the company erected in 1924 a \$300,000 building<sup>41</sup> from which it conducted the major portion of its affairs and ranching operation. Under its own aegis the CRLC developed thousands of acres. Cotton was the principal crop. Wheat, corn, and alfalfa also comprised a large acreage.<sup>42</sup> On the American side alfalfa was the main crop; this ranch also bred Duroc hogs.<sup>43</sup>

The closing years of the 1920's brought financial crisis<sup>44</sup> to the company, and the 1930's contributed more problems, for the entire undertaking was threatened by expropriation. During the former decade,



the CRLC and its affiliates were forced to borrow almost \$2,500,000.00. The various notes were guaranteed by Sherman, Chandler, Allen, Pfaffinger, and D. O. Brant.<sup>45</sup>

To the Brant interest one thing became realistically clear, if called upon for their share of the guaranteed notes, they would be faced with financial ruin. Therefore to get out from under this burden the family negotiated with the Chandler-Sherman interests a mortgage of the Brant Rancho to secure the Brant obligations.<sup>46</sup> In essence Harry Chandler and Arnold Haskell of Chandis Securities Company<sup>47</sup> and the M. H. Sherman Company,<sup>48</sup> respectively, agreed to finance the Brant's 1/5 share enabling the family to continue retaining ownership of their CRLC investment. Then in 1938, to settle the obligations secured by the 1932 mortgage, the Brant Rancho was divided with 750 acres passing to the Chandler-Sherman interests and with 100 acres (containing the house and dairy) remaining Brant property.<sup>49</sup>

During the 1930's, the CRLC owners attempted to operate the Mexican holdings in the black and to sell the land. Harrassment from squatters and *agraristas* made the latter attempt paramount. Negotiations with the Mexican government resulted in tentative contractual agreements but none was finalized.<sup>50</sup> In addition, two prospective private buyers considered purchase. Van Camp Limited of Toronto, Ontario, represented one such group. However, neither this deal nor one attempted by a Japanese syndicate which offered \$50,000,000.00 cash was consummated.

Negotiations between the CRLC, represented by Juan Brittingham, and the Mexican government, involving General Plutarco Elías Calles<sup>51</sup> and the Secretario de Agricultura y Fomento, continued. In December, 1933, Secretary Francisco Elías accepted an option to acquire all the CRLC property.<sup>52</sup> Finally, a colonization contract was consummated,<sup>53</sup> Arnold Haskell informing R. A. Brant that he considered this a good plan because it allowed sale of the land and avoided confiscation. Haskell also felt the CRLC colonization move to be more effective than the government's colonization efforts. The problem, however, soon became one of trying to continue the company's plan of colonization as the government grew increasingly hostile. Cancellation of the contract appeared imminent and "in view of the communistic trend of the country we may never collect from the colonists." The government

was "not going to take any chance of our making a success of private colonization for it runs contrary to what they are doing in other parts of Mexico." At the same time the CRLC itself faced a severe water shortage (1934) and was attempting to ride through a cotton crop failure (1936). Even though the situation looked disastrous, Haskell wrote "I am not ready to give up by a long ways. I want to see that *dammed* [*sic*] property work out."<sup>54</sup>

By fall, 1938, conditions had deepened. With 250,000 acres expropriated, 450,000 remained of which 300,000 could be developed. Attempts were made to stabilize the situation so that confiscation could be stopped and colonization continued.<sup>55</sup>

Matters did not improve and finally the claims<sup>56</sup> of Chandler and Allen presented for the CRLC owners to the Claims Commission were recognized. The American-Mexican Claims Commission formed in 1942 awarded almost \$3,000,000.00,<sup>57</sup> based upon the validity of three claims.<sup>58</sup>

Prior to the payment of the claims, Haskell had stated—according to Robert A. Brant—that there were two basic options facing the company: liquidation to reimburse the creditors for monies advanced or investment of additional money in the property. He felt the former of the two choices was the course he was pursuing in 1943.<sup>59</sup>

Payment of the money from the Claims Commission was passed on to the five basic owners or interests or creditors of the CRLC: Chandler-Sherman Corporation for Chandis Securities Company (Harry Chandler); Chandler-Sherman Corporation for the M. H. Sherman Company (Sherman-Haskell); Pfaffinger Foundation (now controlled by the Chandlers)<sup>60</sup>; David O. Brant (for the six children of O. F.); and the estate of William H. Allen, Jr. Under an allotment procedure to make payment possible to the American interests who had lost money in the Mexican corporation (the CRLC), Chandler and Allen (who had filed the claims and who represented the owners) "were allotted assets of the corporation consisting of claims against the Mexican Government for damages arising from expropriation of its lands." These assets were therefore applied first to paying the liabilities of the corporation, thus "a part of the general corporation assets is being set aside solely for American interests and . . . the American creditors are being satisfied pro tanto out of that portion."



The five interests involved had guaranteed almost \$2,500,000.00 for the CRLC. Prior to the action of the Claims Commission the Chandler-Sherman Corporation became the owner and holder of the notes representing the \$2,500,000 loans and thus brought suit in the County of Los Angeles against the CRLC for a judgment on the notes. On May 11, 1938, the Chandler-Sherman Corporation was given judgment against the CRLC "for the face of the notes together with interest from specified dates." The judgment was then placed in trust for collection and distribution to each of the five beneficiaries. Therefore, when the Claims Commission made the awards, legally the interest of the capital stock was subordinate to the judgment and debts of the CRLC; thus the awards to Chandler and Allen became the property of the American creditors (there were no Mexican creditors). The money accruing to the five beneficiaries of the judgment in trust had no taxable interest.<sup>61</sup>

A sale for the balance of the Mexican holdings developed during 1944. W. O. Jenkins, an American who had lived in Mexico for over forty years, wanted to purchase both the land and the financial holdings, such as the bank, finance company, and interest in oil mills, which in 1943 had an income of \$145,000.00 pesos.<sup>62</sup> Thus by the 1950's the big five finally saw their ranch holdings slip from their grasp. Later some land was regrouped on the American side in the Imperial Valley under Arnold Haskell and then was gradually sold.<sup>63</sup>

Perhaps what hit hardest regarding the loss of the land was total lack of appreciation concerning the actual development of the terrain. Twelve million dollars were poured into the Mexican holdings. Ditches, canals, roads, and levees were constructed, and the land was cleared and leveled. In 1929 Clark reported that a force of four to eight thousand laborers was employed over the year to maintain the land.<sup>64</sup> The CRLC's main contribution was opening the land, making it available for utilization. The owners then monetarily received nothing comparable to what had been invested or for what they felt the property was worth.<sup>65</sup> Certainly they earned nothing but trouble for their effort in continuing the operation for over forty years or for their attempt to expand operations and develop the lands of the Mexicali Valley and the Colorado River Delta.<sup>66</sup>

(Dauid O. Brant's edited interview will appear in the next issue.)

## NOTES

1. This, of course, is a generalization. Any particular core group behind a specific venture might include some of these men but not necessarily all. The Colorado River Land Company investment included the six men mentioned in the text; they were its developers and backers; later Arnold Haskell was to replace Sherman in this company's affairs, and Chandler assumed the Otis interest after the latter's death in 1917. David O. Brant represented the Brant interest after O. F. Brant's death in 1922. In some undertakings a new member might join the group. Also any one member might be associated in another enterprise totally divorced from the other men; Sherman is an example of this.

2. Hereinafter this company will be referred to as the CRLC.

3. Some sources which include material on the Colorado River Land Company are Lowell L. Blaisdell, "Harry Chandler and Mexican Border Intrigue, 1914-1917," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXV (November, 1966); the *Calexico Chronicle*, "Imperial Valley," Second Annual Magazine Edition, May 1909; Compañía Mexicana de Terrenos del Río Colorado, S.A., *Colonización del Valle de Mexicali*, B.C.; Helen Hosmer, "Imperial Valley," *The American West*, III (Winter, 1966); Norris Hundley, "The Politics of Water and Geography: California and the Mexican-American Treaty of 1944," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXVI (May, 1967); Earl Linholm, "A Study of the Agrarian Revolution of Mexico as Applied to the Division of Land Among Persons in the Mexicali Region of Lower California" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1937); Pablo Martínez, *A History of Lower California; Memoria Administrativa del Gobierno del Distrito Norte de la Baja California, 1924-1927*; Salazar Rovirosa, *Cronología de Baja California del Territorio y del Estado de 1500 a 1956*; Carlos Trejo Lerdo de Tejada, *Norte contra Sur*; Otis Tout, *The First Thirty Years*; U.S. Congress, Senate, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Affairs, Special Agents Series, No. 220, *Mexican West Coast and Lower California, A Commercial and Industrial Survey*, by P. L. Bell and H. Bentley Mackenzie; Aurelio de Vivanco, *Baja California al Día*.

4. Gordon Stuart, *When the Sands of the Desert Grew Gold* (Pacific Palisades: Gordon Stuart, 1961), p. 67.

5. Since the acreage spanned the international boundary it became necessary to have two ranch headquarters, one on each side of the border. The ranch obviously was operated under one policy but managed from two different locations. In company communications the CRLC referred only to the vast Mexican holdings and the C-M referred to the smaller American lands. However, D. O. Brant in this interview and in papers in the Brant files refers to the entire operation as the C-M and makes no distinction. In the total picture of the company, the Mexican acreage remained paramount in importance thus the C-M (American side) receives scant mention in the papers. In this introduction CRLC



refers only to the Mexican land and C-M only to the California Imperial Valley land.

6. The articles of incorporation were signed August 14, 1902, and listed five directors and stockholders including G. C. Hunt, Harry Chandler, D. O. Anderson, and F. X. Pfaffinger, all of Los Angeles, and T. H. Silsbee of Calexico. Capital stock amounted to \$2,000,000.00 with 20,000 shares. The articles of incorporation are available at the California State Archives, Sacramento.

Margaret Romer mentions that a George Hunt located in the Imperial Valley in 1900 and that it was he who interested Harrison Gray Otis in his (Hunt's) ranch. The result was a 700,000-acre ranch. Margaret Romer, "A History of Calexico, California," *Annual Publications, Historical Society of Southern California*, Part II, XII (1922), 16.

7. Memorandum of Elvon Musick to Arnold Haskell, September 22, 1943; Memorandum of facts concerning the lands of the Colorado River Land Company, prepared by C. L. Gómez for the information of Theodore Macklin, Research Associate, University of California (Macklin now resides in Sacramento). In a letter by C. L. Gómez to O. F. Brant, May 22, 1918, Gómez calls this "as short and conservative a statement as possible." Brant Files.

8. The company was voluntarily dissolved in the Los Angeles Superior Court of Judge Louis W. Myers, August 30, 1920. The dissolution papers are at the California State Archives, Sacramento.

A. J. Waters, president of the Citizens National Bank of Los Angeles wrote Pfaffinger asking for information regarding this action since they had the stock as collateral for some loans. O. F. Brant therefore called on Waters and explained what had been done. A. J. Waters, to F. X. Pfaffinger, September 4, 1920, Brant Files.

9. The Brant family held 3,450 shares in the California company. Title Insurance Receipt, May 14, 1940, Brant Files.

Harry Chandler acquired one qualifying share in the same company on September 10, 1902 and an additional 2,000 shares, May 12, 1904; William H. Allen, Jr., also acquired 2,000 shares May 12, 1904. Previously Allen had purchased stock in the CRLC, January 10, 1903. Memorandum of Musick to Haskell, September 22, 1943, Brant Files.

10. Articles of Incorporation filed May 13, 1935. Arnold Haskell was president of the corporation. Its directors have included Harry Chandler, Norman Chandler, Arnold Haskell, J. H. Risheberger, Brodie Hamilton, and H. E. Downing. In 1960 William E. Moore, Jr., was president and Omar F. Johnson treasurer. The corporation is still in existence. Files, Corporation Commission Office, Sacramento.

11. Chandler was elected president of the board of the CRLC, May 9, 1921. Allen served on the board as a vice-president and treasurer (elected as such January 8, 1923); previously he had served as Comisario of the company from

January 12, 1903, until his 1923 election. Memorandum of Musick to Haskell, September 22, 1943, Brant Files.

Pfaffinger also served as an officer on the board. Curtis Gómez was secretary of the CRLC and administratively ran company affairs from the Los Angeles office.

12. Note Clark's role in the cotton fiasco of 1929 which is mentioned by Brant in the interview. See below, notes 44 and 119.

13. Other managers included Wardlaw, who followed Bowker, and A. V. Vierhus, and later C. C. Caldwell who both succeeded Clark.

Vierhus, who immediately followed Clark, received \$300.00 a month and was furnished his living quarters, meals, and household allowances for himself and family. Curtis Gómez, company secretary, who ran the Los Angeles office, received \$500.00 a month as historian of the CRLC. The other top salary—\$350.00 a month—went to the chief engineer who in the 1930's was H. M. Rouse. In addition Edmundo J. Guajardo was retained as general counsel for \$600 a month. Ernst and Ernst, *Report of Examination, Colorado River Land Company, S.A., Mexicali, Mexico, February 28, 1935*, Brant Files.

14. The company did not acquire its land as a single unit but as a series of acquisitions, and problems arise when a specific date is assigned to a particular purchase. Confusion exists as to exactly when a given date or even year represents the transaction which indicates that a specific land unit was acquired. Since a precise date is difficult to confirm at this point, perhaps it is wiser to view the five acquisitions comprising the basic CRLC operation from a general rather than a particular view.

Linholtm in his thesis lists the following purchase dates for three of the five CRLC's basic purchases:

May 23, 1904, from Andrade, 90,469 hectares

June 13, 1904, from the Mexican Irrigation Company, 45,500 hectares  
[sic. This probably should read 4,500 hectares which would then indicate the purchase date for the 10,000 Acre Tract listed in the Statement of Areas as shown in the Introduction.]

April 25, 1907, from the Mexican Colorado River Land Company, 182,115 hectares.

Linholtm documents this information with an interview with Agustín Loroña, Secretary of the CRLC. Earl Linholm, "A Study of the Agrarian Revolution of Mexico," pp. 11, 38.

Further discussion relating to acquisition dates may be found in *Colonización del Valle de Mexicali*.

15. Statement of Areas of Land, October 30, 1916, Brant Files. See note 22.

16. Copy of letter from G. Andrade to Title Insurance and Trust Company, August 6, 1904; Ismael Pizarro Suárez to O. F. Brant, July 25, 1918, Brant Files.



17. Memorandum of Gómez to Macklin, 1918, Brant Files.
18. Land Description, circa 1921, Brant Files.
19. Correspondence of 1918 relating to Christian Stengel, Brant Files.
20. Ernst and Ernst, *Report*, 1935, Brant Files.
21. Ernst and Ernst, *Report*, 1935, Brant Files.

Land classification:

<i>Description</i>	<i>Hectares</i>
Cultivable and irrigated	4,400
Pasturage	2,300
Desert	19,279
Mountains	28,060
Roads, canals, etc.	342
Total	<u>54,381</u>

See also Linholm, "A Study of the Agrarian Revolution of Mexico," pp. 39-40.

22. The following list which has been somewhat abridged appears in the Brant Files and is dated October 30, 1916. The "areas shown in hectares are those specified in the respective deeds, and areas shown in acres are their true equivalents."

Asterisks indicate "areas in acres as specified in said deeds."

23. Assuming that Linholm's dates are accurate (see note 14 above), the 10,000 Acre Tract purchase date would be June 13, 1904. Similarly, the date for the Andrade Tract acquisition would be May 23, 1904.

24. The purchase date (based on Linholm, see note 14 above) was April 25, 1907. The land was first sold to a group of individuals from San Francisco and Petaluma who sold it to the Mexican Colorado River Land Company (not the CRLC).

The *Calexico Chronicle*, "Imperial Valley," Second Annual Magazine Edition, May, 1909, states that Attorney A. W. Thompson represented the Petaluma syndicate in its purchase from Andrade; this purchase amounted to 500,000 acres of which 250,000 were sold to the CRLC in 1904.

25. This was acquired in 1904 from the Mexican Land and Colonization Company, Ltd. See discussion in Introduction.

26. This would be the land first acquired by Hill, Merritt, Borel, and Bihler. See discussion in Introduction.

27. In Brant File reports and in published material the exact acreage varies between 700,000 and 832,000 acres depending on the years of reference.

28. Memorandum of Gómez to Macklin, 1918, Brant Files.

In a May 28, 1930, letter of Harry Chandler to Harold N. Van Camp, who was representing prospective buyers, Chandler wrote that of the total 832,000 acres 600,000 were bottom tillable land available for irrigation from the Colorado

River. He also felt that an additional 50 or 60,000 acres might be potentially quite valuable as quality grapefruit land. See Van Camp reference below.

29. Ernst and Ernst, *Report of Examination, Colorado River Land Company, S.A., Mexicali, Mexico, May 31, 1934.*

30. In 1930 Chandler estimated that 3,570 miles of canals and drain ditches existed. Chandler to Van Camp, May 28, 1930, Brant Files.

This type of work, i.e., these water projects, involved so much time and effort that the ranch operation was divided into two divisions: the property division and the water division.

31. These initial phases of development were hindered by the agitation of "the revolutionists, or I. W. W.'s." The CRLC presented a \$500,000.00 claim and estimated that an additional \$500,000.00 damage also was done to company property. Memorandum of Gómez to Macklin, 1918, Brant Files.

32. Memorandum of Gómez to Macklin, 1918. Brant Files.

Linholm states that the greatest development of the lands came between 1910 and 1925. Also he discusses Chinese coolie labor. He further states that "in the main, its [the CRLC] chief business has been the leasing of land and the financing of the lessees." Linholm, "A Study of the Agrarian Revolution of Mexico," p. 39.

33. The following land utilization chart appears in the Ernst and Ernst *Report* of 1935, Brant Files. On the 25,200 acres of wheat, barley, and oats, the CRLC received \$48,218.42 as share rent or \$1.91 per acre. The cotton acreage of 43,000 brought in \$99,578.32 or \$2.32 per acre.

Land holdings on the American side were also leased. See below note 43.

34. Memorandum of Arnold Haskell's talk with Robert A. Brant, May 22, 1931, Brant Files.

This memorandum states that "we own 133 shares of stock of the First National Bank of Calexico; it is now in receivership with Clyde Burr as receiver. They have as assets 5,000 acres of the best land around Calexico and the equities of the three largest buildings in Calexico." Sherman and Chandler "have a first mortgage of \$210,000 on the properties owned by" this bank.

35. Memorandum of Haskell's talk with Robert A. Brant, May 22, 1931, Brant Files.

The land company held a one-half-interest in this bank. The stock was held in the name of Fred Gunterman. The CRLC "has no contingent liability in this bank but until the \$1,000,000.00 note owing that bank by the First National Bank of Calexico is paid the First Central Bank will not be strong financially." The other half interest of the First Central was owned one-quarter by M. H. Sherman and one-quarter by Harry Chandler.

36. The CRLC or its owners always had a stock holding interest in this company.

In 1926 the CRLC owned 3,200 shares; Allen 200 shares, Sherman 1,600 shares, H. H. Clark 200 shares, Norman Chandler 400 shares, Harry Chandler 1,200 shares, David O. Brant 300 shares, Pfaffinger 200 shares, Mrs. A. E. Guajardo 100



shares, and Ismael Pizarro Suárez 100 shares. Some of the other stockholders included the Brittinghams—Juan, Eduardo, J. G., Nelson, Louis, Albert—Argyle McLachlan, and Charlotte M. Howard. Juan Brittingham was president. English Translation, Minutes of Stockholder's Meeting, November 27, 1926, Brant Files.

By 1931 the CRLC was listed as owning a  $\frac{1}{3}$  interest in this company with the other  $\frac{2}{3}$  owned by Anderson Clayton, Co. The Jabonera del Pacífico owned the cotton gins formerly owned by the CRLC; it paid the CRLC \$115,000 for them. Memorandum of Haskell's talk with Robert A. Brant, May 22, 1931, Brant Files.

A 1933 memorandum lists the CRLC as owning  $\frac{1}{3}$  of Jabonera del Pacífico stock; Chandler and Sherman owned some additional stock. "Anderson & Clayton own the balance having purchased one-third from Brittingham and their balance from Brant, Allen, Pfaffinger, etc." Report on C.M. Sale Deal by D. O. Brant, August 25, 1933, Brant Files.

37. Harry Chandler and Curtis Gómez, president and secretary, respectively, of the CRLC to M. H. Sherman, F. X. Pfaffinger, and D. O. Brant, October 18, 1926, Brant Files.

Letter states CRLC will protect the above three against any loss sustained by them for loans of \$450,000.00 guaranteed by them for the Delta Canal Company, S.A., which was at the time operating a system of irrigation canals on CRLC lands. See also Certification by Curtis Gómez of said action by the CRLC, October 18, 1926, Brant Files.

38. Harry Chandler and Curtis Gómez, president and secretary, respectively, of CRLC to M. H. Sherman, F. X. Pfaffinger, and D. O. Brant, October 18, 1926, Brant Files.

Letter states that the company will protect the above three against loss for their guaranteeing notes of \$3,000,000 for the Lower Colorado River Ginning Company, S.A. See also Certification by Curtis Gómez of said action by CRLC, October 18, 1926, Brant Files.

A Title Insurance and Trust Company Interoffice Communication (Brant Files) to Robert A. Brant, July 1, 1931, states that Brant, A. D. Haskell, and W. C. Davis (Auditor of the CRLC) can sign checks for the Lower Colorado River Ginning Company.

39. Memorandum of Haskell's talk with Robert A. Brant, May 22, 1931, Brant Files.

Not only was the bank financially involved with the CRLC but Sherman and Chandler each had \$150,000.00 on deposit there and had "jointly subscribed \$25,000" when the bank was reorganized and the capital increased.

40. The CRLC also had an interest in a railroad line built by the Southern Pacific in 1931. Memorandum of Haskell's talk with Robert A. Brant, May 22, 1931, Brant Files.

Arnold Haskell and Herbert Risheberger were president and secretary, respectively, of the Calxico Land Company. Title Insurance and Trust Company Interoffice Communication of W. C. Lockett to Robert A. Brant, July 29, 1933,

Brant Files. Two Callexico Land Companies have existed in California. The Articles of Incorporation of the first one were filed October 29, 1932. The first directors were Arnold D. Haskell, J. Herbert Risheberger, and Clyde R. Burr (see above, note 34). This company was dissolved March 1, 1938; the reference of the Brant Files communication of Lockett is to this company. The second company's Articles of Incorporation were filed October 24, 1946. Arnold D. Haskell, J. H. Risheberger, and J. M. McCroskey were listed as first directors. This company was suspended January 2, 1953. California State Archives, Sacramento.

O. F. Brant, Sherman, and Chandler also owned lots in Calipatria. These lots (about twenty acres) were in the center of town. Each of the three had put up \$1,000.00. Letter of Sherman, October 31, 1917, Brant Files.

The Brant family was sole owner of the Imperial Valley Land and Irrigation Company of Lower California, S.A. C. L. Gómez to Harry Chandler, January 30, 1930, Brant Files. Purchase and history of this company revolved around the infamous Easton suit of 1924 and 1925. A summary of the entire issue can be found in the decision of the Circuit Judge of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Ninth District, Number 5033. See also the following Los Angeles *Times*: December 24, 25, and 30, 1924; January 8, 1925; February 13, 14, 19, 20, 1925; March 4, 1925; October 30, 1928.

41. Chandler to Van Camp, May 28, 1930, Brant Files.

42. Chandler to Van Camp, May 28, 1930, Brant Files.

Acreage in 1934 included cotton, 45,000 acres; wheat, 20,000 acres; and barley, 5,000 acres. Total acreage under cultivation for the 1934 growing season was 70,000. Ernst and Ernst, *Report*, 1934.

See also H. H. Clark's statements about the ranch development in Otis Tout, *The First Thirty Years* (San Diego: Otis B. Tout, 1931).

43. Ernst and Ernst, *Report*, 1934, Brant Files. At this time, 1934, one portion of the land was leased to Fred Gunterman (see note 35 above on First Central Bank) on a share basis for flax raising. Another section was leased to The Farley Fruit Company for lettuce and melon.

44. The Brants severely criticized company action for bringing financial problems. One reason was failure to sell the 1929 cotton crop when the price fell from twenty cents to five cents. Also Brant and Haskell felt that if the company "had only stayed with farming operations and running water and stayed away from the financing of the cotton growers, the ranch would have made big money," for "they had \$800,000.00 in money in the bank when they started financing the cotton growers." Memo by Robert A. Brant of his talk with Arnold Haskell, July 26, 1937, Brant Files. In reference to this latter issue see note 32. See also note 116 on the 1929 cotton crop.

45. These 6% notes actually total \$2,496,615.00 for the following banks: California Bank, \$100,000.00; Security-First National Bank, \$740,000; Bank



of America, \$300,000; Citizens National Trust and Savings Bank, \$1,356,615.00. Ward Chapman to D. O. Brant, January 9, 1933; Agreement, November 11, 1932, of Harry Chandler, Arnold Haskell, with D. O. Brant, Brant Files.

46. D. O. Brant to Arnold Haskell, June 16, 1932, Brant Files.

47. Articles of Incorporation were signed September 5, 1916, and filed November 6, 1916. In 1953 Norman Chandler was reported as president. At the time of the Brant Rancho Mortgage Harry Chandler was president. The company remains in good standing. Files, Corporation Commission Office, Sacramento.

48. Articles of Incorporation filed June 10, 1932. Sherman was president in the 1930's. Haskell succeeded him and was still listed as president in 1961. The company remains in good standing. Files, Corporation Commission Office, Sacramento.

49. Mortgage, November 11, 1932; Agreement, April 23, 1938; D. O. Brant to Arnold Haskell, June 16, 1932; Handwritten report of Brant-CRLC relations, circa 1938 or after, Brant Files.

50. The Brant Files contain two tentative agreements, one dated July, 1930.

In 1930 one proposal called for the government to make 20 annual payments of \$600,000.00 each, the balance carrying 4% interest. The depression caused the deal to lay dormant. Report on C. M. Deal by D. O. Brant, August 25, 1933, Brant Files.

In a copy of a letter of Francisco Elías, Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, to Harry Chandler dated October 27, 1933 (Brant Files), Elías discusses a government purchase for \$10,000,000.00 with \$100,000.00 payable immediately and the balance in 20 annual payments at 4% interest.

51. Calles played a prominent role in the negotiations. When Calles became very ill, Juan Brittingham reported—according to D. O. Brant—that “it was imperative that we have his help to put the deal through or we would lose all. It was his intent to have the deal ratified by the Mexican Congress and the payments made a part of the budget.” Calles wanted “to establish a five million Peso land bank at Mexicali to finance the project.” Furthermore he wished “to put discharged soldiers on the lands under the direction of engineers . . . it was a part of the plan for which the revolution was fought . . . it was to go through even though it was a losing proposition and the deficit had to be made up by taxes.” Report on C. M. Sale Deal by D. O. Brant, August 25, 1933, Brant Files.

52. D. O. Brant to R. A. Brant, July 17, 1933; Juan Brittingham to Harry Chandler, November 30, 1933 (tells of meeting with General Calles, the President, and the Secretario de Agricultura and discussing the opinion; meeting occurred at Tehuacán, Puebla, the temporary residence of Calles); copy of letter of Francisco Elías to Harry Chandler, December 8, 1933; Harry Chandler to Francisco Elías, circa December, 1933 (reply to Elías' letter of December 8), Brant Files.

53. Memorandum of R. A. Brant concerning discussion with Arnold Haskell, October 1, 1936, Brant Files. The agreement called "for colonization of 54,000 hectares in six years, 5,000 hectares the first year, 10,000 hectares the second, third, fourth, and fifth years, and 15,000 hectares the sixth year. The agreement limits the size of plots to 375 hectares and the maximum price of land to 300 pesos. The land is paid for with 5% down and the balance of the purchase price in twenty annual payments with interest at 4%."

54. Report of talk with Arnold Haskell, November, 1935; Arnold Haskell to D. O. Brant, December 8, 1936; Arnold Haskell to D. O. Brant, January 26, 1937, Brant Files. Haskell reported he thought there was a drive on to move agrarians onto the property. Four hundred of them moved onto the land in January, 1937, but were ordered out by the governor at the request of the tenants who had organized and had selected Guajardo (CRLC attorney) to be their spokesman.

55. Arnold Haskell to Chandler, October 27, 1938, Brant Files.

56. Earlier claims were ignored. In 1941 some individuals reported that though the so-called Lawson commission was examining company claims that "in the final settlement the commission will double-cross us. They (the informants) think this is true, for in all cases they (the commission) talk of settling the claims of the small family, who have all their money invested in their farm in Mexico and which has been taken away."

"Arnold [Haskell] feels that this is the true picture, which would follow the policy of our Washington Government in taking care of the voters and the small man." Memo Re C. M. Ranch, by Robert A. Brant of discussion with Arnold Haskell, February 13, 1941, Brant Files.

57. *American Mexican Claims Commission Report to the Secretary of State* (Washington, 1948), pp. 108, 481. A total of \$6,740,422.28 was claimed. Awarded was \$2,962,690.89.

Arnold Haskell, president of Chandler-Sherman Corporation, to Pfaffinger Foundation, David O. Brant, executors of the Estate of William H. Allen, Jr., and Chandler-Sherman Corporation, December 15, 1943, Brant Files. The first two awards totaling \$2,941,209.08 with interest totaled \$3,756,622.23. The Brant Files contain no information indicating that interest was paid.

58. Memorandum of Elvon Musick to Arnold Haskell, September 22, 1943, Brant Files. "Of the lands covered by the three claims filed (original and two supplemental claims) by Messrs. Chandler and Allen, the first to be expropriated were the 'Cocopah Lands,' on May 30, 1932, and the last were those covered by Ejido Janitzio, on March 11, 1940, with 53 other expropriations intervening between said two dates, most of them made in the year 1937." Although this statement applies to previous claims, it sheds light on the ones covered by the actual awards.

In 1922 an expropriation of lands near Mexicali (to supply town lands) occurred. The area was slightly more than 389 hectares. O. F. Brant was highly



incensed with this action because evidently little effort had been made to purchase the land. Translation from *Diario Oficial*, February 3, 1922; unsent letters of O. F. Brant to the President of Mexico, February 16, 1922, and February 17, 1922, Brant Files.

59. Letter of Robert A. Brant to David O. Brant, T. J. Brant, and Elizabeth B. King, September 24, 1943, Brant Files. Haskell's impressions are, of course, seen through Brant's eyes.

60. The papers for the foundation were filed November 23, 1936. The first directors included Harry Chandler, Marian Otis Chandler, Mabel Otis Booth, Frank X. Pfaffinger, S. W. Crabill, Philip Chandler, Harrison Chandler, Norman Chandler, and Raymond Tanner. In material filed January 11, 1965, Omar F. Johnson and Richard G. Adams were listed as president and secretary, respectively. Files, Corporation Commission Office, Sacramento. See above note 10 which lists Omar F. Johnson as treasurer of the Chandler-Sherman Corporation.

61. The statements of quotation are from the Memorandum of Musick to Haskell, September 22, 1943, in the Brant Files. Other references in the Brant Files include the following: Declaration of Trust, September 14, 1938, Banco Mercantil, S.A.; letter of Arnold Haskell, president of Chandler-Sherman Corporation, to Pfaffinger Foundation, David O. Brant, executors of the Estate of William H. Allen, Jr., and Chandler-Sherman Corporation, December 15, 1943; Mexican Claims, Summary of Awards and Interest Thereon, Payments and Distribution Thereof, September 12, 1945; letter of Arnold Haskell, president of Chandler-Sherman Corporation to Robert A. Brant, January 22, 1947; letter of Arnold Haskell, president of Chandler-Sherman Corporation, to Robert A. Brant, December 29, 1947.

Forty per cent of the awards was retained until expenses were determined and a final determination was made regarding tax liability. By 1947 it was felt no tax claims or liabilities would be asserted against the award and the forty per cent was distributed.

Five per cent of the award payment was withheld by the U.S. Treasury Department.

The Brant 1/5 interest was divided among David O. Brant, Robert A. Brant, Thomas J. Brant, Elizabeth Brant King, Estate of Alfred T. Brant, and Estate of Helen Brant Bayly.

The Chandler-Sherman Corporation received both the Chandis Securities Company 1/5 interest and the M. H. Sherman Company 1/5 interest.

Distribution of the first (1943) payment totaled \$100,589.35 for each 1/5 with \$67,059.57 withheld as per agreement.

The 1943 Haskell letter refers to the judgement obtained in Case No. 412,000 in the Superior Court of Los Angeles County "the judgement being for \$3,915,488.48, together with interest thereon at the rate of 7% per annum from the 11th day of March, 1938, the date of said judgement." Banco Mercantil, S.A., was trustee of the judgement for the Chandler-Sherman Corporation.

62. Memo by Robert A. Brant of meeting with Arnold Haskell, March 3, 1944, Brant Files. Jenkins' primary interest was in the financial institutions. He offered the Wilshire Medical Building clear, the private parking lot at the rear, a garage on the east side of Westlake, north of Wilshire. A 10% return from these properties would amount to about \$500,000.00. The Chandler Sherman interest would receive the Guaranty Building in Hollywood and some stores on 8th Street all estimated to be worth \$800,000.00. See Los Angeles *Times*, March 24, 1944.

63. Interview with William O. Hendricks, October 8, 1965. The area involved amounted to slightly less than 2,000 acres; and the last of it was sold in April, 1965.

64. Otis Tout, *The First Thirty Years*, p. 366.

65. The following appraisal appears in the Brant Files and is dated May 18, 1931. It is for the CRLC only and not its related interests including the American C-M.

Ranch ditches—1,729 miles at \$400.00.....	\$688,000.00
Main canals—250 miles at \$2,000.00.....	\$500,000.00

#### ROADS:

200 miles main roads at \$500.00.....	\$100,000.00
800 miles secondary roads at \$100.00.....	\$ 80,000.00

#### LAND: (Cost of clearing)

175,000 acres at \$50.00.....	\$8,750,000.00
10,000 acres partially cleaned and levelled	
East side of river at \$10.00.....	\$ 100,000.00

#### LEVEES:

Rodríguez—10 miles.....	\$425,000.00
Saiz .....	\$ 75,000.00
Pescadero Extension .....	\$ 70,000.00
San Luis .....	\$250,000.00
Vacanora (destroyed) .....	\$250,000.00
Total .....	\$11,788,000.00

Add 800,000 acres @ \$25.00.....	20,000,000.00
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Total .....	\$31,788,000.00
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Office Building, Mexicali.....	250,000.00
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Total .....	\$32,038,000.00
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66. This Introduction has ignored the notorious trial of Harry Chandler. However, the Brant Files have scant information relating to this incident, certainly an important one in terms of company history. The material concerning this period of ranch history is itself sporadic in coverage. Hence there are only a few papers on the trial, and they shed light only on some of the expenses. No



memos or letters exist in the CRLC portion of the Files on this interesting trial. For one presentation of the trial, its significance and background, consult Pablo Martínez, *A History of Lower California*. William G. Bonelli in *Billion Dollar Blackjack* also discusses the trial and other problems relating to the Chandler interest. For example, Bonelli discusses the water problem in the Imperial Valley area. Gordon Stuart in *When the Sands of the Desert Grew Gold* tells of the resentment against the CRLC involving water shortages. A more complete history of the CRLC appears in the publication of the Compañía Mexicana de Terrenos del Río Colorado, S.A., Mexico, 1958, *Colonización del Valle de Mexicali*, B.C.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and development. It begins with the first settlers who came to the continent in search of a new home. They found a land of vast resources and potential. Over the years, the colonies grew into a nation, and the people began to shape their own destiny. The American Revolution was a turning point in the nation's history, as the colonies declared their independence from Britain. This led to the formation of the United States, a new nation with its own government and laws. The history of the United States is a story of progress and achievement, and it continues to this day.

The American Revolution was a period of great change and upheaval. The colonies fought for their freedom from British rule, and they won. This led to the creation of the United States, a new nation with its own government and laws. The American Revolution was a turning point in the nation's history, as the colonies declared their independence from Britain. This led to the formation of the United States, a new nation with its own government and laws. The American Revolution was a period of great change and upheaval.

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# Sketches of Dr. Glen Owen Hardeman: California Gold Rush Physician

By NICHOLAS P. HARDEMAN

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*Courtesy of Nicholas P. Hardeman.*

Dr. Glen Owen Hardeman  
at age of fifty-two in 1877.

DR. GLEN OWEN HARDEMAN, when he traveled to Santa Fe in 1849 and to California in 1850 and 1851, was keeping pace with a family tradition of long standing. His ancestors for nearly one hundred-fifty years had been carried along with the westward movement of European and American civilizations. The first American member of the Hardeman family came from England to Virginia some time prior to 1716.

Thomas Hardeman, a second generation descendant of this early

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NICHOLAS P. HARDEMAN, a descendant of California's first elected American governor, Peter H. Burnett, is professor of history at California State College, Long Beach. Dr. Hardeman, who is a grandson of the principal figure of the article, received his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. degrees from the University of California, Berkeley.

migrant, crossed from his native colony of Virginia on a hunting expedition into what was later to become central Tennessee in 1768,<sup>1</sup> the year before Daniel Boone's most famous journey to the "dark and bloody ground." In 1786 Thomas moved with his family to Tennessee. Thirty years later, the call of the West beckoned him onward to Missouri. His son John, lawyer by training, storekeeper by trade, and friend of such prominent Westerners as Andrew Jackson and Thomas Hart Benton, moved from Tennessee to Missouri in 1817, where he established his famous garden known as Fruitage Farm. From this location near Franklin, Missouri, he participated in the Santa Fe trade and visited Mexico and Central America in search of exotic flora for his garden of the labyrinthine pathways.<sup>2</sup>

MISSOURIAN, 1825-1905

Glen Owen Hardeman, son of John, was born in Missouri, September 26, 1825. His father died of yellow fever four years later while returning from a trading and plant-gathering expedition to Santa Fe and more southerly parts of Mexico. Young Glen spent much of his time during the ensuing years with his half-brother, John Locke Hardeman, who erected a picturesque white dwelling with a spiral staircase near the town of Arrow Rock, Missouri.<sup>3</sup> Glen went away to study medicine at Kemper College in St. Louis. He graduated from the University of Missouri with an M.D. degree in 1848, then took a second M.D. degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1849. For a few months he practiced medicine at Marshall, Brunswick, and Arrow Rock, Missouri. From September 1849 to mid-1852, his medical career in central Missouri was interrupted by the Santa Fe Trail and California trips which were financed in part by the sale of his slaves. These adventures are given more detailed description in later pages.

Late summer of 1852 found Dr. Hardeman debarking from a Missouri River steamer at Arrow Rock Landing and back at his medical practice in the towns of Arrow Rock and Marshall. He refers in memoirs to his failure to "make a fortune in California;" medicine apparently proved to be a more lucrative field, for Thomas Claiborne Rainey speaks of him as a retired physician as of 1866.<sup>4</sup> Possibly romance was influential in cutting short his Western visit, for in 1853 he married Permelia Townsend of Saline County, Missouri.



In 1858 John Locke Hardeman died. Since he had no heirs, having never married, he left to his half-brother the care of his slaves. The advent of the Civil War thus placed Dr. Hardeman in the somewhat paradoxical position of a slaveholder who, from the opening guns of the war, was an outspoken supporter of the preservation of the Union,<sup>5</sup> and who served with the armed forces of the North. The slaves were maintained in his care until President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of September, 1862, immediately after which they were assembled and told that they could depart on their own or remain as paid free laborers. Several chose the former course, while some elected to remain with the Hardeman household.

On August 20, 1862, Dr. Hardeman was assigned to duty in the Union Army in the capacity of Surgeon for the Missouri Seventy-first Regiment of the Enrolled Militia, Lafayette and Saline Counties.<sup>6</sup> Few details of his period of military service are known. He was on leave from January 26 to February 5, 1863, released from the Seventy-first Regiment on March 8, 1864, and passed his examination for an appointment as Surgeon, Medical Staff of the Troops of Missouri, August 27, 1864.<sup>7</sup>

Two years later Hardeman moved with his family and the several freedmen still in his employ to a location near Gray's Summit (now Gray Summit) in Franklin County, Missouri.<sup>8</sup> There he resided for the remainder of his life, with the exception of a fifteen-month stay back at Arrow Rock in the early 1870's.

At his new home Hardeman busied himself with the duties of physician and farmer. In both occupations he could have been referred to as a general practitioner, since he did not specialize in either. Like his father and half-brother, he was a "gentleman farmer" with more than a little interest in experimentation. For several years he served as secretary for the local Grange.<sup>9</sup> He soon became a leading authority on the history of the area in which he lived, as he had been on the background of his former haunts in Saline County, Missouri. That he knew Franklin County well is confirmed by a copy of his address on its history.<sup>10</sup> That Franklin County knew him as well is also evident from the fact that its voters elected him to a term in the Missouri Legislature, where he served as a Democratic member of the House of Representatives from 1876 to 1878.<sup>11</sup>

No biographical sketch of Glen Owen Hardeman would be complete without some reference to his nonoccupational interests, particularly in the realms of nature and science. From poetry to politicians, from animals to aboriginal tribes, from taxidermy to temperature statistics, his mind probed at the perimeter of knowledge about him. He kept annotated and indexed scrapbooks on these and numerous other subjects. He subscribed to scientific journals, kept clippings and drawings (in his own hand) of scientific specimens and events, and engaged in voluminous correspondence with specialists in a number of scientific fields. His interest in meteorology and agriculture prompted him to keep extensive statistics and information on temperature, rainfall, etc.<sup>12</sup> As an amateur taxidermist of some recognition, he mounted scores of North American birds and mammals, including the quetzal of Central America and the ptarmigan of the sub-Arctic.<sup>13</sup> He was keenly interested in Indian cultures, as indicated by clippings, papers on the Cherokee language, and thousands of arrowheads, spearpoints, knives, tomahawks, and other relics which he collected.<sup>14</sup> Eskimos, inhabitants of the tropics, and the Hebrew language were among the scores of subjects which, until the time of his death, attracted his interest.

Glen O. Hardeman reared a family of seven children. Nancy and Susan married and spent their lives in Missouri. Leona studied painting, but died while yet a young woman. Locke became a physician, establishing his practice at Porterville, California. Letcher graduated from West Point in the class with John J. Pershing and commanded the sixth Regiment of Missouri Volunteers in Cuba during the Spanish American War. Glen H. entered training for medicine, but, in 1888, gave up his career and returned from college to the farm in order to care for his aging parents. Joseph established the J. T. Hardeman Hat Company in Seattle, Washington.

As a fitting postscript to his early western travels, Dr. Hardeman made two trips to California by rail. He could not resist contrasting the discomforts of his first two western trips with the luxury of the later journeys by Pullman car.<sup>15</sup>

Glen O. Hardeman died in 1905 at the age of eighty years. He was buried in the Methodist churchyard at Labadie, Missouri, three miles west of his home at Gray's Summit. Although something is known of his accomplishments and the breadth of his interests, unfortunately the



biographical information is far from complete. His cousin, Governor Peter Hardeman Burnett of California, who was well acquainted with Glen, stated that "The Hardemans were fond of pleasure, and were generally extravagant when young. Most of them, especially my male cousins, when setting out in life, wasted their patrimony, not in dissipation of any kind, but in fashionable life; and afterward set earnestly to work, most of them making good livings."<sup>16</sup> T. C. Rainey observes of Dr. Hardeman in the volume, *Along the Old Trail*, that "He was a man of talent, an original thinker, a born gentleman, with as acute a sense of the ridiculous as any man I ever knew."<sup>17</sup> A former resident of Franklin County wrote in 1936, "Dr. G. O. Hardeman was an intelligent and highly educated gentleman and was greatly respected in the community."<sup>18</sup>

These brief observations may serve to shed some light on the nature of the individual who suspended his professional career to venture twice into the early American Far West.

#### PLAINSMAN, 1849-1850

Eighteen hundred and forty-nine was a bustling year in central Missouri, wellspring of many migrants to California. The trickle of forty-eighters had become a deluge as word of California gold was confirmed by official messengers Edward F. Beale and Lucien Loeser, and the pronouncement of President James K. Polk. The Mexican War was history, and the American flag flew invitingly over California. The little town of Arrow Rock, situated in Saline County near the junction of the Santa Fe Trail and the Missouri River, was a focal point through or near which poured literally thousands of forty-niners. The county of Saline yielded up about 150 of its residents to the call of the West in the spring of 1849.<sup>19</sup>

Dr. Glen Owen Hardeman, twenty-four years old, unmarried, venturesome of spirit, fresh from the confines of college, and finding his first medical practice rather dull compared to the lure of California gold, was understandably susceptible to this fascinating epidemic of "yellow fever." Two factors were undoubtedly influential in determining which westward route he would follow. As previously noted, his father had been a Santa Fe trader. John Hardeman, Dr. Glen O. Hardeman's father, purchased an \$8,000 consignment of goods from

Philadelphia and left Franklin, Missouri, in late May, 1828, with a number of wagons. He arrived in Santa Fe during August and traded for about a month before seeking to dispose of the remainder of his goods in the "lower country." He left the port of Matamoros, Mexico, for New Orleans on August 10, 1829, having spent approximately a year in Mexico and perhaps in Central America trading and accumulating plants for his show garden on the Missouri River. John Hardeman died of yellow fever at New Orleans on September 2, 1829.<sup>20</sup>

More recently, Glen Hardeman had received a letter from John A. Bingham of St. Louis, describing in some detail the Santa Fe Route. Bingham, a friend and classmate of Hardeman at Kemper College, reached California via the Santa Fe Trail in 1848. He experienced some success in the gold fields and returned to St. Louis some time prior to July 12, 1849. His letter is obviously in response to a request from Hardeman for a description of conditions prevailing along the trail to California.<sup>21</sup>

Thus Hardeman rather naturally chose the Santa Fe Trail. He was by no means alone, as some 10,000 to 15,000 other gold seekers selected that route during gold rush years. Unlike the South Pass Route, which was frequented only during the late spring and summer, the Santa Fe way was passable at all seasons. In September of 1849, Hardeman set out along the Santa Fe Trail<sup>22</sup> in the company of numerous other migrants as venturesome as he. His first night was spent near Marshall, Missouri. He was impressed by the "immense" preparations for the Santa Fe gold rush trade—"wagons—pack trains and at least one wheel barrow as it was called but in reality a 2 wheeled 'hand barrow' easily propelled by one man."<sup>23</sup>

A student and lover of nature all his life, Hardeman observed wildlife such as buffalo and wolves sighted along the trail. Of more concern, however, were the "Wild Indians" which were seen watching the caravan from a distance.<sup>24</sup> No full scale Indian attacks were experienced during the trip, but a strong feeling of uneasiness pervaded the air, and guards were posted nightly in the Indian country. On one occasion the entire wagon train was rudely awakened as a sentry's rifle spoke sharply during the night. The guard reported that he had seen and fired at something moving in the prairie grass. No one slept for the remainder of the night. The break of dawn disclosed that the intruder had been a



dog, shot dead by the sentry in the gloom. A few weeks later the episode was repeated. This time daylight revealed a dead Indian, knife in hand, within a few yards of the wagons. It was presumed that he planned to cut the horses loose.<sup>25</sup>

Upon reaching the Rio Grande, Hardeman and some companions followed the river southward to El Paso, Texas. Whether because of unfavorable reports from returning prospectors about the terrain to the west, fear of cholera, apprehension over the Apaches, or for some other unknown reason, this group decided to abandon the old fur trading desert route to the Gila River and California. They entered Chihuahua in northern Mexico, traveled by pack mule "across the High table lands of Mexico," doubled back to the southernmost stretch of the Rio Grande, followed the river to its mouth, and journeyed by steamboat through the Gulf of Mexico to New Orleans and home.<sup>26</sup>

If the objective of the trip was California gold, or even California, it was a failure. Whatever motivated the change in plans and the premature homeward journey, the passage to California was not prevented, but only postponed. Before the year 1850 was out, Hardeman, armed with the experience of his recent wayfaring (including some knowledge of the Spanish language), was again headed for California, this time via a faster, and in some respects, easier route.

#### ARGONAUT

If the Isthmian route, which Glen Hardeman selected for his second attempt to find the "golden fleece," was a faster and more comfortable choice than the overland trek, it was also more expensive. In order to finance the trip, Hardeman took his slaves by steamer down the Mississippi River and sold them for \$2,300, a figure which he considered a "sacrifice."<sup>27</sup> He visited relatives, the Dunnica family, in the vicinity of Covington, Louisiana. It is possible that he borrowed money from them at that time; later documentation shows that he repaid a large sum of money to a member of that family.<sup>28</sup> At New Orleans he booked passage for the port of Chagres (on the Isthmus of Panama) via Havana. His ship was the 3,000-ton steamer *Ohio*, commanded by Captain J. F. Schenck.<sup>29</sup>

At eight o'clock on the morning of November 14, 1850, the *Ohio* left New Orleans. By dark of the same day the vessel had moved

"across the bar at the mouth" of the Father of Waters and was "fairly out at sea." The surface of the Caribbean was calm on the following day; the steamer was "almost as steady as when in the river." There was no seasickness between New Orleans and Havana. Hardeman observed that his single berth room, "though somewhat resembling the cell of a dungeon" was as comfortable and convenient as circumstances would permit. He watched the passing ships and brigs and settled back to read the occult philosophy of Bulwer's *Zanoni*.<sup>30</sup>

The weather held clear and on the afternoon of November 16, the island of Cuba hove into sight, "looking like a distant cloud resting on the water." On board the *Ohio* were several Spaniards who were "on tiptoe of expectation to catch a sight of their beloved Havana."<sup>31</sup> The vessel reached the harbor of Havana just as the sunset gun sounded, and, since no ship was permitted to dock after that time, the captain was compelled to "lay off and on," or steam to and fro for about a mile before the city, until dawn. Hardeman's own description of the night needs no embellishment:

The most glowing accounts written do not overrate the beauty of the harbour and scenery around. The loveliness of a clear moonlight night—enjoyed from the deck of a vessel in the harbour is absolutely indescribable.<sup>32</sup>

It was surely the most beautiful . . . sight I ever beheld. The full moon shone as bright as day; the houses could be seen . . . with tall palm trees towering above the roofs. I sat up the balance of the night entranced with the lovely scene.<sup>33</sup>

The young traveler proceeded to describe the hustling harbor with its "annoying" customs and health officials; its plethora of ships and soldiers of Old Spain, on hand as a precaution against recurrence of the López insurrection; its hundreds of small sail and row boats busily carrying passengers or tropical fruits. He spent several days in port, but the military air was chilly if not hostile, and he stayed ashore only long enough to visit a few interesting sites.<sup>34</sup>

On November 18, 1850, the Panama passengers from the *Ohio* were transferred to the mail steamer, *Georgia*, commanded by Captain David Dixon Porter,<sup>35</sup> later hero of the battle of Vicksburg and an admiral in the United States Navy. Porter was working in the passenger trade while on extended leave from the Navy following his active service during the Mexican War. In January of 1850 he was given



command of the *Georgia* by the United States Mail Steamship Company and continued to command the vessel on its regular runs between New York and the Isthmus for a two year period.

Another renowned figure, Italian General Giuseppe Garibaldi, was reported to have been aboard the *Georgia* on this cruise, though Hardeman observes that he did not have the opportunity to meet the gentleman. The memoirs of Garibaldi state that he was not in the Caribbean until 1851.<sup>36</sup> This discrepancy remains unexplained. Either the memoirs of Garibaldi or Hardeman are in error on this point. It is likely that the two men were on the same vessel at the same time, although it may have been in March, 1852, when Hardeman made his return trip from Chagres to Havana.

Out of Havana, en route to the Isthmus, the *Georgia* coasted along the western end of Cuba with the high mountains visible in the distance. By November 20 she passed Cape San Antonio, the extreme western tip of the island, some 250 miles west of Havana. On the following day hundreds of flying fish were observed. On November 21 the seas became heavy, the vessel pitched and rolled, the diarist became seasick, and the journal came to an untimely close,<sup>37</sup> not to be resumed except for a very short account of the return trip. Fortunately, brief memoirs, in addition to letters, ledger entries and sketches, provide some continuity to the remainder of the narrative.

The Caribbean phase of the trip was soon terminated as the Isthmus at the mouth of the Chagres River came to view during a heavy tropical downpour. The young traveler observed, on the bluff above, the old Spanish fortress of San Lorenzo, still unreconstructed from bombardment at the hands of Henry Morgan in 1671. Debarking at the little town of Chagres, Hardeman, along with other passengers, spent the night in "what they called a hotel."<sup>38</sup> Exasperating delays were frequent in this "mañana" land, but he and five or six accompanying argonauts were more fortunate than many. After the "long dickering and palaver-ing with the owners of canoes," or bongos, the little group secured the services of two Negro boatmen, and late in the day moved up the Chagres River to undertake the "most vexatious" task of negotiating the sixty-mile trans-Isthmian route.<sup>39</sup>

Darkness settled fast on the Chagres in the wake of the setting sun, the traveler noting that there was no twilight in the tropics. The boat-

men paddled to shore and the assemblage, after failing in an attempt to ignite a coconut log, sat up the entire rainy night in great discomfort as the water ran down their backs. The boatmen, clad in shirts reaching to heel length, suffered from the cold of the night, while Hardeman, huddled in his "India rubber coat . . . fared better than the others." The remainder of the voyage up the Chagres was apparently without noteworthy incident, though not without discomfort. The boatmen "walked" the canoe up river, their long poles shoving against the river bed, or used their paddles "to cross over to one side or the other as the current happened to be swift or slow." Provisions on this leg of the journey consisted largely of sardines, augmented by the eggs of gulls, pelicans and other sea fowls.<sup>40</sup>

Hardeman noted the presence of wildlife in the Isthmian region—pelicans, parakeets, sloths, monkeys and alligators. The jaguars, he opined, had been frightened back into the woods away from the trail by the din of the passing throng. After several days the party reached the town of Gorgona, from which the overland trails led to Panama City on the Pacific.<sup>41</sup>

From Gorgona Dr. Hardeman began the twenty-mile over-mud plod along the old Spanish Panama-to-Portobello silver trail, which had been for several centuries the beat of bullion-burdened beasts. Once cobblestoned, the road had deteriorated badly, although it still provided an all-weather access to the sea. The young physician hired a mule, a decision which he later regretted because the incessant rain and mud made traveling on foot more expedient. He walked much, sharing the mule with a fellow adventurer. Crowds of homeward bound argonauts, generally having very little to say, were encountered along the trail. Hardeman's first letter to his brother in Arrow Rock, Missouri, stated that he was much distressed at having been separated from his friends and acquaintances. He was no doubt equally distressed over his separation from his trunk which he had shipped from Gorgona to Panama City. He did not see it during the entire overland journey, and after an anxious search "came across . . . the trunk lashed to the back of an ox" and "did not recover it until the last hour for sailing of the steamer."<sup>42</sup>

The steamer to which Glen referred was the old Pacific Mail Steamship Lines sidewheeler, *Panama*, displacing 1,100 tons, and commanded



by Captain J. T. Watkins. It was packed with passengers apparently to the point of discomfort, the better to milk all possible income from the feverish demand for transportation. Adding to the present congestion as well as to future digestion, cattle were crowded on board, the loading of these beasts eliciting a detailed description from the pencil of the argonaut from Arrow Rock.

I witnessed the shipment of our beef cattle which were floated out to the vessel anchored a mile or two in the harbor. Two steers at a time were lashed by the horns to a pole across a canoe—were hoisted on board at the end of a rope over a pulley in the rigging. In this way we took on board a considerable number—perhaps 20 or 30.<sup>43</sup>

If the process of bringing beef on board was interesting, the act of consuming it was not. With his youthful appetite, Hardeman was acutely aware of the ship's bells sounding the hour of the repast. "Provisions," he relates, "were hard to get so far from the markets of the U.S. We lived mainly on sardines and very poor beef."<sup>44</sup> This bill of fare was varied occasionally by large land turtles from the Galapagos Islands and by marine life caught on this last leg of the voyage to San Francisco.

Few if any prior sailings to California had aroused as much concern and anxiety as did this one. For the *Panama*, when it embarked from the Isthmian port of the same name on December 4, 1850, carried not only the usual cargo of eager miners and Eastern mail. Of its 150 passengers, twenty-five were women, reportedly the largest proportion of ladies ever to sail to California on any vessel to that date. Some children, too, were on board. Most of these women and children were families of men who had come "but for a day" to the diggings and had elected to stay—men who now anxiously awaited the family reunions in San Francisco.<sup>45</sup> The trip from the Isthmus to the Golden Gate normally was made in about eighteen days; by December 22 and 23, expectations were high but the *Panama* did not appear. Day after uneasy day passed. On December 26 the San Francisco *Daily Alta California* noted much anxiety, but stated that there was no cause for alarm. Two days later hopes were lifted momentarily as a smoke-spewing vessel neared, but optimism gave way to increased alarm as it turned out to be the *Constitution* which had left the Isthmus some days after the *Panama*.

The *Constitution* reported heavy weather but had no news of the *Panama*. Newspapers speculated that damaged machinery had forced the vessel into port for repairs and predicted that the *Northerner*, which had sailed from Panama City on December 10, would bring news of the tardy steamer. But the *Northerner* arrived on schedule and the *Alta California* carried the brief, ominous news item, "no tidings of the *Panama* are reported." The pall of gloom thickened as watchful waiters with loved ones on board feared that the ship had gone down else it should have been seen by one of the passing steamers or would have reached some port enroute. "Fools and cranks" compounded the agony by circulating false reports that the missing vessel had been sighted. Finally, on January 2, 1851, the "long looked for" *Panama* safely docked at San Francisco, its passengers only then learning that all on board had been presumed drowned.<sup>46</sup> The mystery of the ship's disappearance was at last explained.

On December 8, 1850, four days out of Panama City, the vessel had been partially disabled by a broken crosstail, the piece which connected the lever and the shaft. The *Panama* was thus without steam power and was forced to its auxiliary propulsion system—wind and sail—for eight days. Meanwhile, chief engineer John Graham repaired the damage by adapting a condemned crosshead to replace the broken connection.<sup>47</sup> Graham and all the ship's officers were warmly praised by the passengers for the way the emergency was handled. On December 20 the *Panama* pulled into the beautiful little harbor of Acapulco on the Pacific shore of Mexico for its brief regular stopover to take on water, coal, and other provisions. Here Dr. Hardeman addressed his first letter to his brother while in a "crowded noisy room with an auction going on at the door."<sup>48</sup> As they steamed north off the coast of Mexico, numerous sperm whales were sighted and a very large white shark and a dolphin were caught.<sup>49</sup> A brief stop was made at Mazatlán, then on to San Diego, near which a second mechanical calamity struck the *Panama* on the night of December 30. This time it was a broken valve in the cylinder, but the repair was made in eight hours, a considerably less annoying delay than the eight days of the previous breakdown. Nor was this the end of adversity. The vessel was nearly wrecked by the fouling of the anchor chain (apparently at San Diego), and the port of Monterey was bypassed because of the dense fog.<sup>50</sup> The overall delay of ten or eleven



days was as annoying to the would-be miners on board as it was agonizing to the next-of-kin waiting at the dock in San Francisco, for the average passenger was eager to get on with his get-rich-quick scheme.

Upon voyaging through the Golden Gate, most argonauts, whatever their trade, talents, or training, quickly contracted for passage to the gold country, there to try a hand at panning before giving thought to other means of livelihood. That Dr. Hardeman may have been seeking either more or less than gold dust is suggested by the fact that he headed immediately for San Jose and reunion with his first cousins, the Burnetts. Kinship, homesickness, the need for advice, and the desire to try his medical profession first were the probable determinants of this course of action. In any event, he had undoubtedly decided upon this itinerary before leaving Missouri, since he had arranged to have correspondence mailed to him in care of Governor Burnett at San Jose.<sup>51</sup>

The San Francisco Bay landing for San Jose and for much of the Santa Clara valley was the little town of Alviso, established in 1849. Here, nine miles north of San Jose, Hardeman joined his relatives, and here he established his first and most permanent California residence. He was very much impressed by the mild winter climate and observed within a short time after his arrival, "As for returning to Missouri—I expect to stay here for 15 or 20 years if not for life."<sup>52</sup> However, he was by no means certain that it would be wise to remain in the vicinity of Alviso.

Everything wears such an artificial aspect here that until I get a better insight into things I am afraid to make a permanent location. Coz. Peter [Burnett] advises me to settle here & wait for the growth of the place thinking it will be a considerable town but I am afraid that his hopes in that respect may get the better of his judgement for he is one of the proprietors of the town. . . . It is however the only outlet to the largest & best agricultural valley in the state. There is a great probability of the seat of government being removed from San Jose which will very much retard its growth.<sup>53</sup>

As to the future of Alviso, the newcomer's judgment proved better than that of the former governor. The town, although still in existence, did not flourish, and the capital was moved from the valley.

While waiting to get his bearings for a permanent location, Glen attempted to establish a practice in his chosen field, medicine. The year

before his arrival a severe cholera epidemic raged in the Santa Clara Valley,<sup>54</sup> but in early 1851 the picture was somewhat changed; he observed, "This valley is unaccountably healthy & I doubt but that it will be a long time before there is practice enough . . . to justify a physician devoting his whole time to it."<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile, in order to make his expenses, he turned to a business venture with one of his relatives, Thomas Burnett.

Several members of the Burnett family had recently moved from Missouri to Oregon and California in search of better economic circumstances. Peter Burnett was elected as the first civil governor of California in late 1849, and he established his residences at San Jose, the first state capital, and at Alviso. His brothers, Thomas and White, also resided at Alviso, as did other members of his family. The three brothers engaged in various enterprises, including politics, legal practice, land speculation, farming, freighting, and warehousing. Of these, Peter's law practice was the most successful. He resigned from the governorship on January 8, 1851, after little more than a year of his term had elapsed, apparently to devote full time to his personal problems which seem to have been principally financial ones.<sup>56</sup> White, Thomas, and Peter's son, Dwight, had borrowed from Peter ten thousand dollars at twelve percent interest per annum on a five-year repayment agreement, but the resultant freight-hauling business, which they financed with the loan, was unsuccessful. White departed for the mines in early 1851 to attempt repair of his financial straits.<sup>57</sup> Thomas, while on a trip, was removed from the partnership, apparently much to his good fortune.

Glen Hardeman and Thomas Burnett threw in their lot together in a gardening partnership in early 1851. Perhaps this was on the advice of Peter, who, in his inaugural address of December, 1849, paid tribute to California's commercial and agricultural prospects by stating that they were "greater and more commanding than our mineral resources,"<sup>58</sup> a strong statement for the peak year of the Gold Rush! Tom undoubtedly provided the larger share of the investment, including the land. The soils around Alviso were considered as good as any in the valley. The gardeners purchased two yoke of oxen for \$260. They bought such other essentials as a wagon from White Burnett, an axe, a hoe, a bucket, and considerable quantities of garden seeds.<sup>59</sup> Word had come from the Sacramento area that great profits had been made from



selling onions, and Hardeman and Burnett specialized in this commodity while giving some attention to other crops.

The artesian water from the hills surrounding the Santa Clara Valley reportedly pressed upward underneath the clay soils, normally keeping them relatively moist during the dry summer months. But the winter of 1850-1851 had been unusually dry,<sup>60</sup> and Hardeman and Burnett decided to forestall possible crop losses by resorting to irrigation. They constructed a windmill and pump, and proceeded to water their growing investment with what may have been the first such device used in California. A native passer-by who saw the contraption in operation was reported to have observed, "Los Americanos saben mucho" (the Americans know much).<sup>61</sup> With prices at a high level, Hardeman expected to clear between \$1,000 and \$1,500 on his share of the agricultural venture.<sup>62</sup>

While the farm land was in the preparing and planting phases, Glen boarded first with Tom and later at the home of a Mr. Ricketts, who had an interest in a warehousing business at Alviso. Hardeman tasted of the local social activity, taking the opportunity to "shake a foot at a fandango given at the ex Governors upon the occasion of his eldest daughter's [Martha Burnett's] marriage" to J. T. Ryland, a lawyer, who also hailed from Saline County, Missouri.<sup>63</sup> Nor was the young physician unaware of the political trends. He reported briefly to his brother on the politics of locating the state capital, the struggle between John C. Frémont and Thomas Butler King for the seat in the United States Senate, and the supremacy of the Whig Party in the state at that time. Meanwhile, the "doctoring" business was very poor and he decided to leave his future farming fortunes temporarily in the hands of the elements and of Thomas Burnett while he had a fling at the diggings.

On April 1, 1851, Hardeman left for the mines at Mariposa,<sup>64</sup> the southern anchor point of the Mother Lode southeast of Stockton. He was prepared either to pan minerals or practice medicine at "one of the mining towns where there is plenty of sickness—though plenty of doctors—for they are plenty as blackberries here."<sup>65</sup> The prevalence of doctors in the gold rush has been oft-cited. For example, Dr. Fayette Clappé, one-time husband of Dame Shirley, was reputedly one of twenty-nine doctors in the Rich Bar community of about one thousand

people. Why such an inordinately high percentage of doctors in a rough, tough, bawdy frontier society? One can only speculate. They were as susceptible as anyone else to the appeal of glamour and the prospect of quick wealth, and perhaps more so in some instances where material appetites had been stimulated rather than satiated by the "good things" in life. Doctors had an extra string to the bow; failing in either mining or medicine, they could try the other. They doubtless concluded that the stampede and the resultant plethora of population would provide plenty of patients. Here the problem was that too many other people had the same idea. The physician was in a better than average position to afford the gamble, particularly since his capital investment—mind, medical bag and a few medical books—was not too difficult to transport. Whatever the reasons, doctors came in large numbers, perhaps to ply their professions, or perchance to exchange the scalpel for the shovel. Fourgeaud and Townsend of San Francisco, Den of Los Angeles, McKinsty of New Helvitia, Bale of Monterey, Leonard of San Francisco and Sacramento were only the most prominent. Dr. J. P. Leonard stated that "the complaints most common in the mining districts are congestive, intermittent and remittent fevers, and disorders of the bowels." Although he did not refer to it by name, poison oak was also listed as a prevalent malady. Cholera and diphtheria were among the most dreaded diseases. Leonard concluded that "intemperance, dissipation, disappointment, privations, exposure, etc.," usually had more to do with fatality than the diseases themselves.<sup>66</sup>

In the party of prospectors with Dr. Hardeman were White Burnett (who had apparently returned briefly to Alviso from his recent trip to the gold country), Barrows, Rule, Vanduzer, Tandy, Armstrong, Turner, Work, H.M.T. Powell, and Walter Powell.<sup>67</sup> Most of the men took horses or mules, the Powells driving oxen which pulled the only wagon in the company. By mid-afternoon of the first day they arrived at Mission San Jose, where some supplies were purchased. On the second day of April, the party passed the Livermore Ranch. By sundown the slow oxen and wagon were well to the rear, and H.M.T. Powell, understandably apprehensive at the thought of being alone and vulnerable in the unsettled country, expressed in his diary a note of relief when he saw that Hardeman and Tandy had waited for the



wagon at the gap, probably Livermore Pass, leading into the San Joaquin Valley.<sup>68</sup>

On the following day, the group, having been thoroughly drenched by an all-night rain, moved from the flower-studded foothills into the Central Valley. The floor of the valley was desolate, with elk horns strewn about. A line of timber following the course of the stream and a few scattered dwellings were sighted as the assemblage neared the San Joaquin River. The current was crossed on Slocum's Ferry at a cost of three dollars per man and a like sum per animal.<sup>69</sup> The gold seekers augmented their diet with fish from the river. They pressed on rapidly to Stockton where they arrived on April 4. There they acquired both additional supplies and sojourners. With the snow-capped Sierra visible in the background, they progressed toward Mariposa, the land of the butterflies.

As they neared their destination, the members of the party were soaked by rains and sobered by reports of hostile Indians who were supposedly equipped with poisoned, glass-tipped arrows.<sup>70</sup> On one occasion, Powell, whose wagon was carrying much of the baggage for the group, threatened to join another party if his companions did not stay close enough to afford adequate protection. The threat was effective. They reached Mariposa about April 11, having encountered nothing more serious than rumors, rattlesnakes, and a few basket-weaving squaws. The following day found them panning the sands and gravels of a bar near the house of Colonel Frémont.

Most of the men who came together from Alviso worked in close company with each other in the Mariposa placers as they quickly busied themselves at the task of "fortune toiling." And toil it was, indeed! "Hands blistered, arms and ankles skinned, and sore all over; back almost broke" was one of Powell's numerous and picturesque descriptions of the drudgery.<sup>71</sup> The men worked with their feet bathed by the chill of the stream and their bodies alternately bathed by perspiration and precipitation, for both labor and rainfall were heavy. The deluge came almost daily from the fifteenth to the twenty-third of April, its monotony broken by snowfall and hailstorm. Only Powell possessed a tent, and soon everything in it was soaked. Hardeman and the other members of the party attempted to shelter their sugar and

flour under Powell's tent and themselves beneath "pine arbours." The swelling of the stream flooded them out of their mining claims. They trudged several miles with rockers, shovels and other paraphernalia before finding a suitable area free of claimants.<sup>72</sup>

The downpour was not without its benefits for Glen and his companions, as it caused a number of argonauts to abandon their claims, thus providing the newcomers with a wider selection of sites. It was to little avail, however, since it was virtually a case of "all work and no pay." Powell observed on April 25, 1851, shortly before he gave up mining and headed for Stockton to devote his energies and wagon to the freighting business, that most of the party was doing poorly, but "S. W. Work, Armstrong and Dr. Hardeman were doing pretty well."<sup>73</sup> This opinion was something short of unanimous, for, on June 1, Hardeman wrote his brother, "Mine has been the experience so far of most newcomers in the mines—I have just about made my board—but I have all the chances before me & expect to make some little out of the claim I now have."<sup>74</sup> It is clear that he did not take enthusiastically to the uncertain toil of the miner's trade as shown by his declaration to his brother, "If I cannot live except by manual labour in this country I will put out for some other." In the same letter he states, "I don't despair by any means of doing something here yet & it shall be done at my legitimate business—I will make enough in the mines this winter to get a start—then for a respectable living in a way that I have a right to expect after having invested as much as I have in schools."<sup>75</sup>

The doctor expected to remain at the Mariposa diggings until September, 1851, then return to Alviso to settle the gardening partnership with his cousin. He anticipated mining through the winter and trying his medical profession again in the spring of 1852, this time at a new location.<sup>76</sup> Already it was apparent that the gardening gamble would not pay off, for "the season turned out favourably & such enormous quantities will be raised that prices will rate with those at home. The day of big prices has past. If I get back what I have invested I will be satisfied."<sup>77</sup> While mother earth provided too bountiful a crop of vegetables, the Mother Lode continued to prove niggardly in nuggets yielded up to his pick, pan and perspiration, and by July 7, 1851, he was back at Alviso.<sup>78</sup>

The contemplated return to the gold mines during the winter of



1851-1852 did not take place. Perhaps, from the expensive stamping mill which he saw at Mariposa, he sensed what history was soon to enunciate, that at this point in time, three and one-half years after James Marshall's fabulous discovery, the peak placer mining period was over. Apparently Glen had despaired of deriving a livable amount from such labors because he remained as a boarder at the residence of White Burnett (who had also returned from the diggings) from July 16 into the month of December.<sup>79</sup> The only traces of the remainder of his stay in California from July until his departure from San Francisco the following February are found in his ledger and several brief references in letters to John Locke Hardeman. On August 25 he rented oxen from the "Lime Co.," in all probability the Rockland Lime Company identified in his sketches. Possibly he invested money with this concern later, since he stayed for some time in the area where it was located (probably in the hill region west of the Santa Clara Valley). As late as December, 1851, he intended to remain in California for at least another year, since he was engaged in a business with good prospects of rewarding him for some of the money and time he had lost in his earlier undertakings. However, "times soon changed," his debts were mounting, and on February 14, 1851, he extricated himself from the venture by selling his interest to another person for \$750—\$500 of which was paid down with the balance due in four and six months. With an obvious note of relief, he stated that he considered himself "well out of the scrape."<sup>80</sup>

As to the reasons which prompted Dr. Hardeman to cut short his expected fifteen to twenty year or perhaps lifetime stay in California, they are unmistakably evident in, and between, the lines of his correspondence. Physicians were numerous in this land of healthy inhabitants, gold mining offered little reprieve from his impecunious circumstances, gardening proved highly uncertain, and his unnamed business venture dimmed in prospect. Neither the Jason nor the Natty Bumppo type, he longed for a return to refinement and comfort. An occasional reference to a certain "Miss P." in his letters to his brother may contain a further clue. Perhaps this was the Miss Permelia Townsend whom he married the year following his return. Finally, he was quite obviously homesick for his friends and family. He asked frequently to be remembered to the friends back home and inquired, to no avail, as to the whereabouts

of his comrades, Troup Smith and Wetmore, who also had struck out for the golden-hued mirage of the Far West.<sup>81</sup> Letters from his Missouri kin gave him anything but encouragement to continue his fling on the sunset shore of the continent. On June 29, 1851, his mother, Nancy Dunnica, wrote the news of his sister Lucretia who died in childbirth the previous June 11, and implored him to read his Bible and go to church at every opportunity. Finally she chided, "I hope when your California fever cools, you will come home and settle down to something."<sup>82</sup> Glen's half-brother was even more forceful in his condemnation of California. Speaking of those argonauts who had returned to Missouri, he stated, "They all tell a dismal tale of losses and privations," neglecting to note that for many, the losses and privations were precisely the reasons for returning. "To be a Californian is, with us, equivalent to being a bankrupt," he continued in his succeeding letter. In a more paternalistic vein he lectured, "You had need to taste of adversity. Do not fall by it and you will but be the better for having been tried."<sup>83</sup>

The traveler weathered these entreaties for some time, but they undoubtedly exerted an additive force to that of his failing economic circumstances. He was, in fact, somewhat later than planned in departing from San Francisco, since he expected "to get off without fail by every steamer, but was disappointed week after week until the 18th of February," 1852.<sup>84</sup> On that date he again boarded the steamer *Panama*. Ironically, this same steamer, aboard which Hardeman and his traveling companions had experienced the long delay in reaching San Francisco fourteen months before, was late again in reaching the city by the Golden Gate. This time it had suffered a broken lever shaft south of San Diego on January 26.<sup>85</sup> The close calls and delays of the type which dogged the voyager enroute to California were not entirely absent on the return trip. The long wait in San Francisco was only the first instance. The steamer touched at Acapulco on February 26 and reached the city of Panama on March 4. Less than two days later Hardeman had recrossed the Isthmus to Chagres, there to experience a five-day lay-over. This was not only serious because of the hazards of malaria and yellow fever (often called Chagres fever or Panama fever), but because sojourners often forfeited their life insurance policies if they remained overnight in the town.<sup>86</sup>



While recrossing the Caribbean aboard the *Ohio*, the same steamer which had carried him from New Orleans to Havana in 1850, the traveler witnessed the only incident of the return trip which provoked any detailed description:

I will here mention what was one of the saddest & Most impressive scenes of my life—a burial at sea. . . . An elderly man happening to see a fire among some shavings and other combustibles near the side of the vessel caused by the breakage of a large vessel of strong sulphuric acid, threw it overboard but in suppressing what might have proved a disastrous accident to the vessel, unfortunately sacrificed his own life by inhaling the fumes of the acid which caused a violent inflam[m]ation of the lungs. Every effort was made by the Surgeon and officers of the vessel to save his life but to no avail—As there was no means of embalming the body it must be sunk beneath the waves—The corpse was sewed up in a hammock with heavy iron weights at the feet & balanced on a plank over the gunwale. The ship was 'hove to,'—the passengers and crew stood respectfully & reverently around with bared heads while the captain read the Episcopal service for burial at sea—the plank on which the corpse had been laid was tilted up and it plunged to the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>87</sup>

The *Ohio*, thus spared a possible catastrophe, reached Havana at six o'clock on the evening of March 14. Six days later she docked at New Orleans, and by May of 1852 the physician had resumed his medical practice at Arrow Rock, Missouri, under circumstances which, if less exciting than his late journey, were more predictable and profitable.

From New Orleans, before commencing the last leg of his homeward trip and with disappointment fresh in his thoughts, Glen Harde-man wrote to his half-brother what must have seemed to him at that time an appropriate epitaph to his unproductive California experience:

I find myself here with \$250 in my pocket, and that is all I have to show for California. I have spent three years and you know what part of my fortune in learning a practical definition of folly. I have seen the wreck of my hopes of wealth and must endeavor to content myself with something humbler. I wish now to see if I cannot extract a little happiness out of this world—a thing I have not known for several years past.<sup>88</sup>

Fifty years later, his perspective perhaps sharpened by the same expanse of time that had doubtless dimmed the focus of his memory, he wrote what may have been a more fitting conclusion by recounting an incident which had occurred while he was crossing the Isthmus of Panama enroute to California in late November of 1850:

I . . . had an amusing adventure while floundering along in the mud. . . . An old man stepped out in front of me and said, "Young man, I would be doing you a service to knock you in the head right here." I laughed & asked why he would treat me in such a way. "California," said he, "is a cruel, bloody place and you'll be sorry you ever went there." I shook hands with him and passed on.

I never met any cruel bloody adventures in California and can not say that I gained anything more than experience. I did not make a fortune but still do not regret the trip.<sup>89</sup>

#### ARTIST, 1852

The personal papers of Glen O. Hardeman contain hundreds of his penciled sketches. As far back as his days at Kemper College he had a reputation for drawing pictures.<sup>90</sup> Portraits, landscapes, and items of scientific interest were prominent among the themes which elicited his artistic responses. During his last few weeks in California he must have had an impulse to preserve some visions of the environment in a form more tangible than memories and written words, for most of the sketches which adorn the spare pages of his small ledger-diary, apparently drawn in haste, were dated during the last six weeks before his departure for home.

#### ROCKLAND LIME WORKS

The subject which Glen Hardeman depicted in most detail (although he wrote no description of it) was the Rockland Lime Company's establishment. During the 1850's lime was much in demand for use in the California construction industry. Fires frequently ravaged the hastily constructed wooden towns; and they, who erected structures of brick or stone and lime mortar, built more wisely. Some of these relics of mid-century masonry still stand in the old towns of the gold country. Lime was available in various California counties, but in the form of limestone which was subjected to intense heat in kilns in order that the lime could be procured. From the sketches, it is clear that the kilns of the Rockland Company were of the "dugout" variety, typical of the nineteenth-century lime works. Each kiln consisted of a masonry-lined hole in a hillside with a vent at the top through which the limestone was fed into the kiln, and with an opening and apron at the bottom for supplying the fuel and extracting the lime. Heating time in these intermittent firing kilns was three to four days. After the lime was removed and transported to its ultimate destination, it was slaked with water and mixed with sand before being employed as mortar.

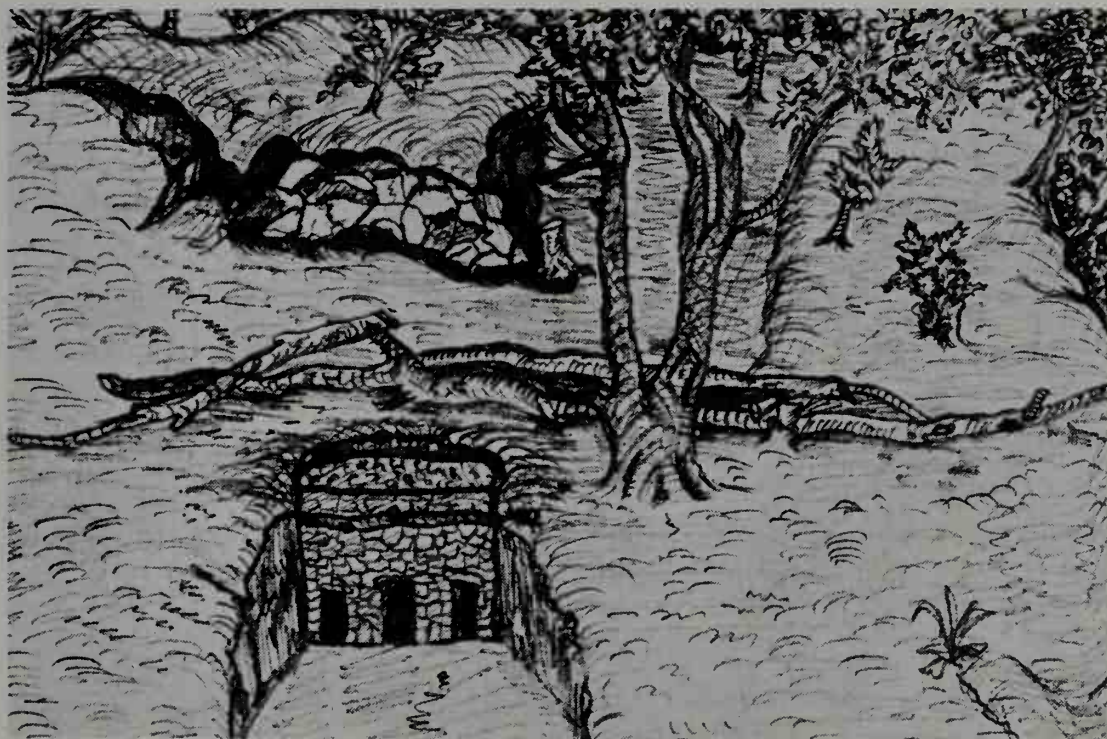
John S. Hittell, noted nineteenth-century historian who wrote several volumes on the commerce, resources, and industries of California and the Pacific Coast, states that the first California lime kiln was built in Santa Cruz County some time in 1853.<sup>91</sup> Hardeman's sketches of January, 1852, and his ledger entry





*Courtesy of Nicholas P. Hardeman.*

The Rockland Lime Works.



*Courtesy of Nicholas P. Hardeman.*

The Rockland Lime Works: The Kiln.

of August 25, 1851, show that a lime company was in existence at least two years prior to the date cited by Hittell.

The precise location of the Rockland Lime Company plant is not known. Sketches of the camp and kiln are dated January 8, 1852, while drawings of the Santa Clara Valley from the hills to the west of the valley were made on January 10.<sup>92</sup> The closeness of these dates suggest the close proximity of the respective subjects sketched. As previously suggested, it is quite possible that Hardeman was employed by the Rockland Lime Company between the time he departed from the mines of Mariposa and the time he left the state.

Whether or not the lime company engaged in the cooperage business at that time is not known. The prevalence of barrels in the sketches is not conclusive evidence, since the lime was shipped in barrels. Some years later the Rockland Lime and Lumber Company operated a plant near the coast thirty miles southeast of Point Sur in Monterey County, where it processed lime in four kilns.<sup>93</sup> The lime was transported from the kilns to the shore and loaded aboard ships by containers carried along a cable. The cable ran from a bluff to a two-ton anchor located about one thousand feet offshore. In addition to burning and shipping lime, this branch of the Rockland Company manufactured barrels from the redwood, pine, laurel and oak timber available.<sup>94</sup>

The Rockland Lime and Lumber Company was acquired by the Henry Cowell Lime and Cement Company, which had long produced lime in Santa Cruz County.<sup>95</sup> Several years ago the Cowell Lime and Cement Company was disincorporated. Its records, along with the records of the Rockland Company, have been destroyed.<sup>96</sup>

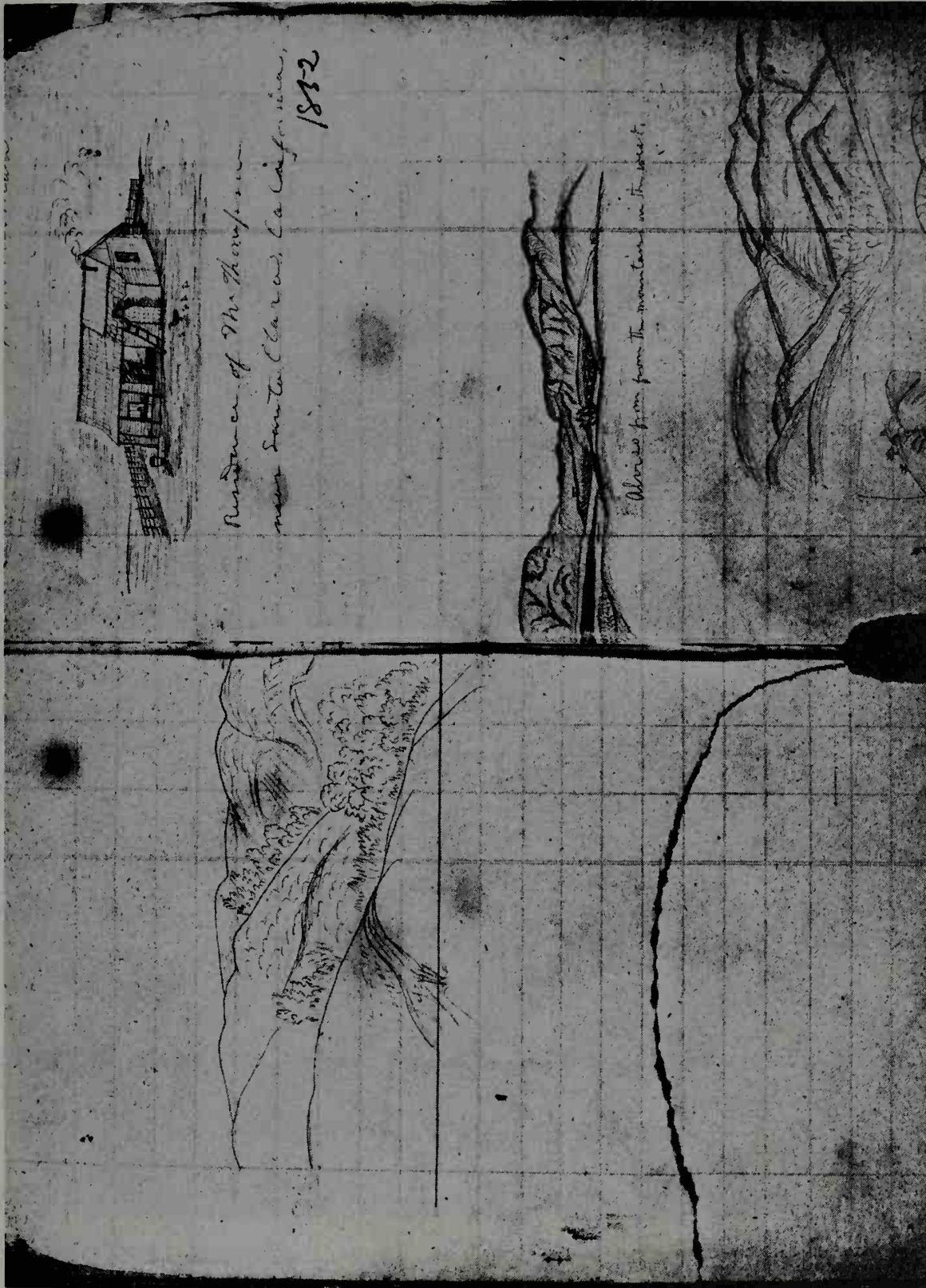
#### RESIDENCE OF MR. THOMPSON NEAR SANTA CLARA, CALIFORNIA

This dwelling probably belonged to a Mr. Robert Thompson, Scottish-born immigrant who came overland from Michigan to California in 1850. He plied the blacksmithing trade briefly in Sacramento. After having seen an onion peddler make a huge profit from the sale of his produce in Sacramento, Thompson went to the Santa Clara area and grew onions in partnership with the Reverend Isaac Owens (who provided forty acres of land for the first year), Anthony Fromen and William Coffee.<sup>97</sup> Glen O. Hardeman and Thomas Burnett, in launching their gardening project, purchased onion seed from a man referred to as Coffin (in all probability William Coffee).<sup>98</sup>

#### SANTA CLARA VALLEY FROM THE HILLS

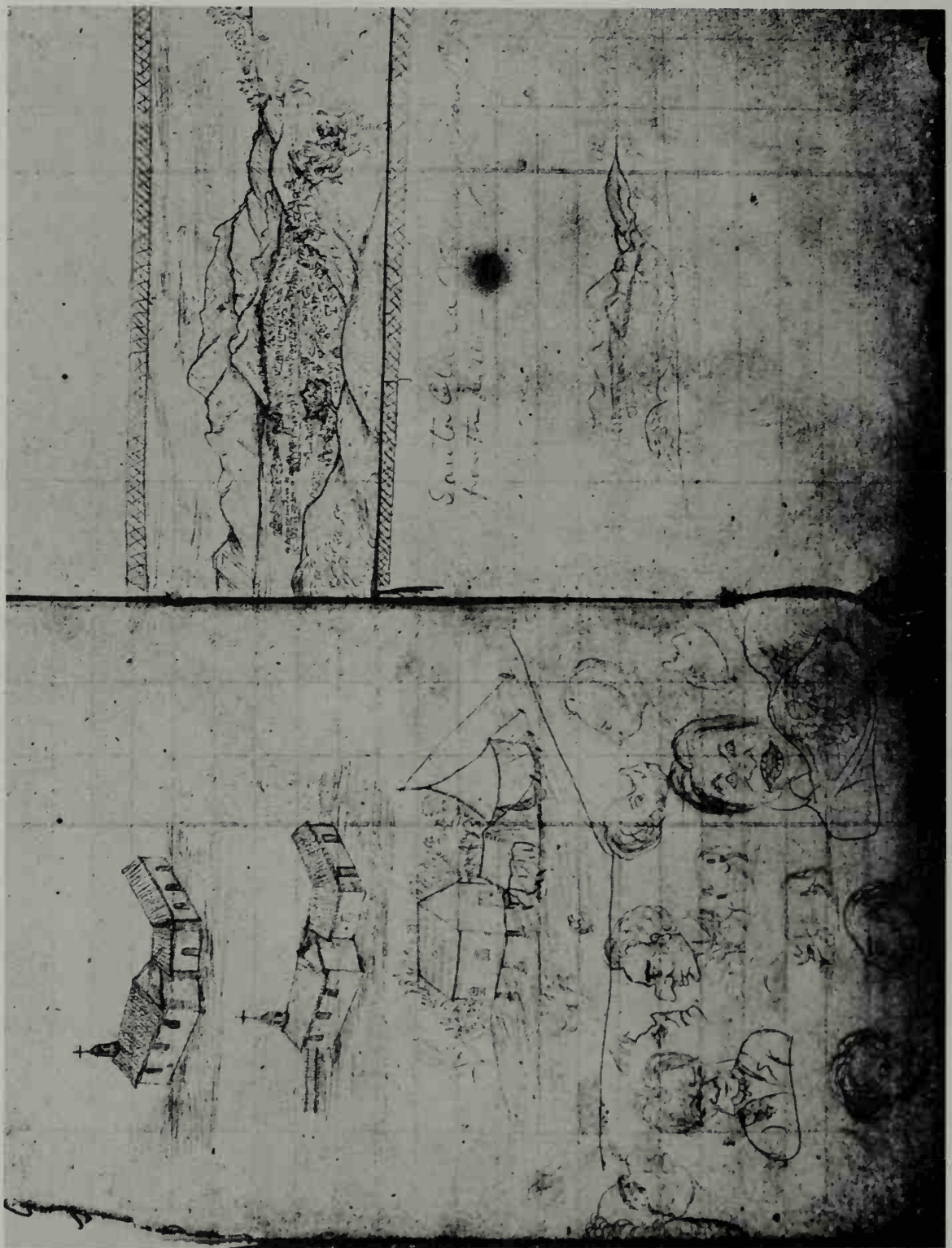
This fertile valley, slung hammock-like between the foothills of the Santa Cruz and Diablo mountains, was the most permanent home of Glen Hardeman during his thirteen-month stay in California.





Courtesy of Nicholas P. Hardeman.

Residence of Mr. Thompson, Near Santa Clara in California, 1832.



Santa Clara Valley from the Hills.

Courtesy of Nicholas P. Hardeman.



NOTES

1. J. Locke Hardeman to Ferdinando Stith, M.D., Franklin, Missouri, June 27, 1834. This lengthy item consists of an account of the life of Captain Thomas Hardeman. It is in the possession of the writer, as are all other pieces of correspondence and papers of the Hardeman family cited subsequently, unless otherwise noted.
2. Original plat of Fruitage Farm; John Hardeman, Letters, ledgers, receipts, etc., MSS.
3. Thomas Claiborne Rainey, *Along the Old Trail* (Marshall, Missouri, 1914), I, 89-91.
4. *Ibid.*, I, 91.
5. Copy of article from *Pacific Transcript* (Pacific, Missouri), January 20, 1905; John Locke Hardeman, Last Will and Testament, Saline County, Mo., August 3, 1858, MS.
6. Certificate of commission, signed by Hamilton R. Gamble, Governor of the State of Missouri, August 20, 1862, Glen O. Hardeman MS, State Historical Society of Missouri.
7. Acceptance of resignation, signed by John B. Gray, Adjutant General, State of Missouri, March 8, 1864; statement of leave of absence, signed by Capt. N. B. Noble, Marshall, Missouri, January 22, 1863; statement of Dr. John T. Hodgen, President of Missouri Medical Board, August 27, 1864, Glen O. Hardeman MS, State Historical Society of Missouri.
8. Recollections of Glen H. Hardeman, son of Glen O. Hardeman, as recorded by Howard Hardeman, Gray Summit, Mo., 1948; *Pacific Transcript*, January 20, 1905. It is possible that the change of residence, made so soon after the War, was prompted by the discomfort experienced by this Union officer upon his return to a county of preponderant Confederate sympathies.
9. Glen O. Hardeman, documents on the local Grange of Gray Summit, Missouri, MSS.
10. Glen O. Hardeman, "A History of Franklin County," MS.
11. Information obtained in correspondence with Dr. Richard Brownlee, State Historical Society of Missouri, October 5, 1962.
12. Glen O. Hardeman, scrapbooks, record books, sketches, MSS.
13. Most of these specimens, along with those mounted by his son, Glen H. Hardeman, and by his grandsons, were presented to Central College, Fayette, Missouri, as the Glen Hardeman Collection.
14. The collection of Indian relics is preserved at Gray Summit, Missouri.
15. Glen O. Hardeman, Memoirs Written for Some of his Grandsons, December, 1902, MS.

16. Peter H. Burnett, *An Old California Pioneer* (Oakland, Biobooks, 1946), p. 2.
17. Rainey, *Along the Old Trail*, p. 91.
18. Gideon Crews to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Holland, Mo., June 10, 1936, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., copy in possession of the writer.
19. William B. Napton, *Past and Present of Saline County, Missouri* (Indianapolis and Chicago, 1910), p. 129.
20. Nicholas P. Hardeman, "Campsites on the Santa Fe Trail in 1848: as Reported by John A. Bingham," *Arizona and the West*, VI (Winter, 1964), 314-315.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 315-319. Bingham subsequently moved to Florida where he resided until his death in 1916.
22. Hardeman, *Memoirs*.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Recollections of Glen H. Hardeman*.
26. Hardeman, *Memoirs*.
27. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, Acapulco, Mexico, December 20, 1850; J. Locke Hardeman to Glen O. Hardeman, Vicksburg, Mississippi, January 10, 1851.
28. James Dunnica to Glen O. Hardeman, Covington, La., March 11, 1851; Leona H. Dunnica to G. O. Hardeman (receipt), Glasgow, Mo., October 21, 1863, MS. Glen O. Hardeman's mother, after the death of her husband, John, had married Judge James Dunnica.
29. Glen O. Hardeman, *Journal of a trip to California, 1850 to 1852*, MS.  
Georgia Willis Read, "The Chagres River Route to California in 1851," *California Historical Quarterly*, XIII (March, 1929), 7.
30. Hardeman, *Journal*. The reading of *Zanoni* was perhaps singularly appropriate, since only seven months before, Bulwer's brother had participated in the negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty between the United States and England. The treaty dealt with use of the Isthmian area, toward which Hardeman was headed.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. Hardeman, *Memoirs*.
34. *Ibid.* One entry in the *Memoirs* is clearly in error. Reference is made to a visit to the place where Narciso López was garroted. This execution did not take place until September, 1851. It is probable that Hardeman visited the spot on his return trip in March, 1852, since he had a layover in Havana at that time.
35. Hardeman, *Memoirs*.



36. *Ibid.*

Giuseppe Garibaldi, *Autobiography of Giuseppe Garibaldi*, trans. A. Werner (London, 1889), II, 57.

37. Hardeman, Journal. Seasickness was apparently very common on the *Georgia*, which was reputedly one of the worst rollers on the sea.

Cornelius Cole, "To California via Panama in 1852," *Historical Society of Southern California, Annual Publications*, IX, Part III (1914), 163.

38. Hardeman, Memoirs.

39. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, December 20, 1850.

For a general account of the Panama passage to California, see John H. Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1943).

40. Hardeman, Memoirs.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*; Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, December 20, 1850.

43. Hardeman, Memoirs.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Daily Pacific News* (San Francisco), January 3, 1851.

46. Hardeman, Memoirs; *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), January 3, 1851.

47. *Daily Alta California*, Jan. 3, 1851.

48. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, December 20, 1850.

49. Hardeman, Memoirs.

50. *Ibid.*; *Daily Pacific News*, January 3, 1851; *Daily Alta California*, January 3, 1851.

51. The mother of Peter Hardeman Burnett was Dorothy Hardeman Burnett, sister of John Hardeman of Franklin, Missouri.

52. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, Alviso, California, January 26, 1851.

53. *Ibid.* That the Santa Clara Valley was "the largest and best agricultural valley in the state" was, of course, open to question.

54. Burnett, *An Old California Pioneer*, p. 225.

55. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, January 26, 1851.

56. Burnett, *An Old California Pioneer*, pp. 223, 225-226.

There was some speculation that Burnett resigned to seek an appointment as U.S. Senator. Hardeman appears to have been correct in doubting the accuracy of this conjecture.

57. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, Alviso, California, March 23, 1851.

White Burnett also owed J. Locke Hardeman of Missouri three hundred dollars.

58. From Governor Burnett's inaugural address, as quoted in J. P. Munro-Fraser, *History of Santa Clara County, California* (San Francisco, 1881), p. 217.

59. Glen O. Hardeman, Ledger of accounts in California, MS.

60. Munro-Fraser, *History of Santa Clara County*, pp. 218-219.

61. *Pacific Transcript* January 20, 1905; Recollections of Glen H. Hardeman; Hardeman, Ledger.

62. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, March 23, 1851.

63. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, Jan. 26, 1851. Former governor Burnett and his son-in-law Ryland were soon to become law partners.

64. Hardeman, Ledger.

Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, Mariposa, California, June 1, 1851.

65. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, January 26, 1851.

66. Some relevant accounts of medical men and matters in California are contained in the following references:

Robert T. Legge, ed., "Medical Observations of J. P. Leonard, M.D., San Francisco and Sacramento, 1849," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXIX (September, 1950), 211-216; George D. Lyman, "Scalpel Under Three Flags," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, IV (June, 1925), 142-206; Henry Harris, *California's Medical Story* (San Francisco, 1932).

67. Douglas S. Watson, ed., *The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852; the Journal and Drawings of H. M. T. Powell* (San Francisco, 1931), p. 249.

Powell, an overland migrant from Illinois, was in the same party with Hardeman for nearly a month. His journal of this period supplies information not available elsewhere.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

The "glass" arrow points were probably made of a volcanic material, obsidian. Hardeman carried an obsidian arrowhead back to Missouri where it remains in the collection of relics which he assembled.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

72. *Ibid.*

73. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

74. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, June 1, 1851.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Ibid.*

77. *Ibid.*

78. Hardeman, Ledger.

79. *Ibid.*



80. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, New Orleans, March 25, 1852.

Hardeman, Ledger.

81. Troup Smith, a son of General Thomas A. Smith (War of 1812), had died at sea.

Napton, *Past and Present of Saline County, Missouri*, p. 408.

Wetmore was probably related to central Missourian Alphonso Wetmore, a well known Santa Fe trader in the 1820's.

82. Nancy Dunnica to Glen O. Hardeman, Arrow Rock, Missouri, June 29, 1851.

83. J. Locke Hardeman to Glen O. Hardeman, Arrow Rock, Missouri, May 25 and August 26, 1851.

84. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, March 25, 1852; *San Francisco Herald*, Steamer Edition, March 2, 1852.

85. *Daily Alta California*, Feb. 18, 1852.

86. Hardeman, Journal; Read, "The Chagres River Route to California in 1851," p. 5.

87. Hardeman, Memoirs.

88. Glen O. Hardeman to J. Locke Hardeman, March 25, 1852.

89. Hardeman, Memoirs.

90. Henry W. Hough to Mrs. J. W. Evans, undated.

Hough, who was eighty-eight years old when this letter was written, had been a classmate of Glen O. Hardeman at Kemper College in St. Louis during the 1840s. The letter was written after 1913.

91. John S. Hittell, *The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America* (San Francisco, 1882), p. 534.

92. Glen O. Hardeman, California sketches, MS.

93. California, State Mining Bureau, *Twelfth Report of the State Mineralogist for the Two Years Ending Sept. 15, 1894* (Sacramento, 1894), pp. 392-393.

94. California, State Mining Bureau, *Eighth Annual Report of the State Mineralogist for the Year Ending October 1, 1888* (Sacramento, 1888), pp. 410-411.

95. Lewis E. Aubury, *The Structural and Industrial Materials of California*, issued by the California State Mining Bureau (Sacramento, 1906), p. 72.

Henry Thomas Holmes, MS, Bancroft Library, University of California.

96. Information obtained in correspondence with the S. H. Cowell Foundation, San Francisco, November 5, 1962.

97. Munro-Fraser, *History of Santa Clara County*, pp. 743-744.

98. Glen O. Hardeman, Ledger.













SAN FRANCISCO 1851

The Golden City as  
the Argonauts saw it...

From a seven plate daguerrotype panorama owned by the  
California Historical Society. Commentary by Robert A. Weinstein



















and an extraordinarily handsome white-brimmed Panama hat. The right of  
landed are two young-looking men at liberty, wearing perhaps for their new  
wedded hands, they are on the rocky chapel's steps. The picture young man sits  
on the crumpled lip of the arch, thus posing a picture in human situation. The land  
most of the ship's rigging is the way all human Point is made testimony to the  
age of the bodied runner and officer, to land birth, and in need of  
The sixth panel shows us the high sea, where making the appropriate line of  
the ship. The picture's variety of ship's work in the tide was a joyous  
large in the nautical but as well as a monument to man's timeless curiosity.  
Our last panel focused upon the Point's us as the original Sutter Point  
the ship's wheel steamer of the Point and the intriguing variety of the building.  
again and again looking ship's developing at that location, about the  
One could go on and on discussing and identifying, but a half hour proper only  
but the interest there for themselves the rich storehouse of information and plan  
one in the picture's archive of the Point's history, and here is the  
enough for all.  
It is the mission of the Point, the Point's Committee of the Society as well as  
the Point of Interest, the Director, and the Director to continue to publish such  
standing to me from the Society's rich holdings for the general interest and pleasure  
of all its members and friends.  
It is hoped that those individuals or families possessing like materials will consider  
placing them with the Society for proper care, adequate cataloging and identification  
and permanent safekeeping. A list of names of donors is being prepared. R. A. W.







It is impossible and unnecessary to consider any one panorama more important than another. They are all important. Each is taken at a different time and place, often from a different location. Each offers different interest for our scrutiny. Each tells a bit of the story of the growth of the city of San Francisco as we know it.

As some of the panoramas were taken from Telegraph Hill (No. 111) they show the dramatic sweep of the center of the developing town down to the water's edge. Others show a view through the mass of abandoned sailing vessels and masts in the main street. There is California Street; there Sacramento Street; here again Montgomery Street; some half a mile and one-half more vessels will see a long and narrow view of some other panorama. The streets of San Francisco and the Golden Gate are visible, crowded with ships, providing a stable platform for additional wooden walkways to ships anchored farther out and the bay extended to the Golden Gate. The foundations of the buildings are visible with individuality important buildings and hotels easy to see and to identify. One especially early panorama shows the then still standing Casa Grande, the San Francisco home of Captain William A. Richardson. It stands at its original location, the Calle de la Piedad, facing the corner of Clay and Dupont streets. This may be the only photograph we shall ever see of this historic San Francisco structure.

For the essentially interested, these panoramas are a joy and a delight. Under a strong light with a magnifying glass, close examination reveals information of great historic value and some of special pleasure.

This book, a panorama reproduced here for the first time in this side view taken in the spring of 1851. The unknown photographer stood on the high sand dunes then



reproduced in the New York City three-lined separate-daguerotype. Few of the  
City the day the views were taken and hoped to sell them profit-  
ably. Let him describe the views in the text he wrote for a catalogue of the show.  
These views are no exaggerated high-colored sketches, got up to produce effect,  
but are as every daguerotype good, but the stereoscopic impression of the real thing.  
Fitzell's views are as good as any daguerotype and are well worth  
the money. They embrace among a variety of others a splendid panoramic view of San Fran-  
cisco, the view of San Francisco from the Old Mill  
where the gold was first discovered, Nevada Gold Rush, Marysville, Sacramento, Be-  
nington, also a large collection of views taken of the miners at work in different local-  
ities, also a likeness of a large number and a large collection of sketches of the different  
tribes of Indians on the Pacific Coast, and a variety of views of the city of San Fran-  
cisco. Consider this at the very least a very valuable and interesting collection. We shall never  
know the full extent of the effort of these early Gold Rush photographers.  
How many panoramic views are there? We only know that too few of these many  
significant views have survived the ravages of the passing years. Quite small groups  
of California Gold Rush daguerotypes still exist in private collections as well as in  
certain important depositories throughout the United States, Europe, Australia, and  
New Zealand. A number of these views are now being made available.  
Only six San Francisco daguerotype panoramas are presently known and available.  
Of these six, three are daguerotypes, two others have at least one photograph, and the re-  
maining panorama has at least 50 percent of the original picture still intact.



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# To California on the *Sarah Sands*:

## Footnote Eight

By KENNETH M. JOHNSON

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IN THE SEPTEMBER 1965 issue of this *Quarterly* there appeared an article bearing the title of *To California on the Sarah Sands: Two Letters Written in 1850 by L. R. Slawson*. Editing and valuable commentary on the two letters were provided by Russell E. Bidlack. One of the letters recited that along the California coast the *Sarah Sands* had run out of coal, was forced to anchor in San Simeon Bay, and that "As we went in in the morning we saw two Mexicans coming down the mountain on horseback, driving two horses. They came down to the beach and the captain went on shore and bought their horses and sent an express to San Francisco for coal." In looking through some of my materials I ran across a related letter written in Spanish on the pale blue letter paper of the period; an English translation follows:

San Simeon Bay  
May 20, 1850

To the Pastor of Mission San Antonio  
Reverend Father:

We have arrived at this port by the steamship *Sarah Sands*. Due to a long voyage, we lack coal and other articles, and so we have decided to send three representatives to Monterey and San Francisco to obtain them. We request you to be kind enough to see that they obtain the resources we need.

Messrs. Francisco Rice, Jorge Mellus and Roberto Brown are the persons authorized to deliver this letter to you. I very earnestly recommend these persons to you. If somebody would like to open a negotiation for the purchase or sale of cattle, and other items, please communicate with me, the captain of the ship.

Very truly,  
William C. Thompson  
Commanding Steamer "*Sarah Sands*"

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KENNETH M. JOHNSON, a vice-president of the Bank of America, is a recognized California historian and author.

George Mellus was a brother of Francis and Henry Mellus, the early and well known traders and merchants of the Mexican period and later; he was a member of the Vigilance Committee of 1851 and worked with his brothers in various business activities, but never attained their prominence. The other members of the express have not been identified.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of Spanish-Speaking Californios, 1846-1890.* By Leonard Pitt. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966. 324 pp. \$7.95.) Reviewed by Rudolph F. Acuña.

*The Decline of the Californios* focuses on California, especially the southern half, during the 1850's, narrating the inundation of the Californios by the arrival of thousands of "gringos" seeking their fortune in California as a result of the Forty-nine Gold Rush. Professor Pitt's kaleidoscopic style is reminiscent of Carey McWilliams' *North from Mexico*, and, although the author does not match McWilliams' mastery or gift of muckraking, he does cast a series of reflections which are interesting as well as informative. This monograph pictures the mesmerization of political, economic, and cultural institutions of the Californios by the aggressive newcomers. The violence by which this process was accomplished is well documented by Professor Pitt. However, because of the rapidity of the many images cast, the focus is sometimes unclear, such as the failure of the author often to distinguish between Mexican immigrant and Californio or to define the label liberal in the context of the 1850's.

Professor Pitt should be commended for treading ground heretofore ignored by California historians and, also, for his recognition of the existence of the so-called Mexican-American in the history of California. Too many works have concentrated on the mission period, the blarney of the ranchos, and the later development of California by the "elect."

Of special interest to Mexican-Americanists is Pitt's resurrection of Francisco P. Ramírez, the firebrand and crusading editor of *El Clamor Público*, a Spanish-speaking newspaper. The chapter on Ramírez entitled "El Clamor Público: Sentiments of Treason" is the highlight of the book. This twenty-year-old champion of the Spanish-speaking citizens was a pioneer in the fight of the Hispanic people to gain recognition in a society from which they were and are alienated. This chapter left the reader thirsty for more details. Unfortunately, the author does not develop this subject as fully as he might have. This and other vignettes, however, whet the appetite of the reader.

A criticism of *The Decline of the Californios* is that Chapters XIV through XVI appear to be afterthoughts. In these final chapters the author explores the period from 1860-1890, affording himself little opportunity to adequately develop these times. It would be preferable if Professor Pitt would write a sequel to his book, emphasizing the new roles assumed by the Californios, and, in turn, their attitudes toward the later Mexican immigrant, as well as following some of the Californios into the contemporary period. In addition, this work would have been enriched by the inclusion of Mexican sources during the paralleling period of the 1840 and 1850's.

In spite of some omissions, Professor Pitt's monograph is a must for historians interested in the period as well as those wishing lively and interesting reading.

It is hoped that *The Decline of the Californios* will encourage additional research on California's largest minority—the Mexican-American.

RUDOLPH F. ACUÑA, a student of the Mexican-American in California and the Spanish Southwest, is a doctoral candidate in Latin-American Studies at the University of Southern California.

*America's Western Frontiers: The Exploration and Settlement of the Trans-Mississippi West.* By John A. Hawgood. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967. 421 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

John A. Hawgood, professor of American history in the University of Birmingham, England, is the recipient of the first Alfred A. Knopf Western History Prize. In addition to publication, the award, which was established in the 1963 meeting of the Western History Association, included \$5,000 above royalties to the lucky winner. Given biennially for "the best written manuscript in the field of Western American history" and one in which "sound scholarship will be taken for granted; the manuscript that wins the prize simply must be literature." The first winning book is indeed literature. Witty and urbane, the narrative reads like a first-rate English novel, worthy of Dickens' descriptive detail, Thackeray's character analysis, and Ian Fleming's vivid excitement. As literature, it is a joy to read—and to be reread.

But as history, one must pause. This book is not an original piece of research; it was not intended as such. Instead, it is a historical synthesis of the various "frontier stages" in the westward expansion of the United States, based upon research limited to printed sources. If one is seeking new information not found in standard Western American history textbooks, one must look elsewhere.

Granted this limitation, Professor Hawgood's recapitulation of the "opening up" of the trans-Mississippi West is highly sophisticated and entertaining. Utilizing subject matter rather than chronology—which makes for some awkward moments—he covers the spectrum from Mongols to moguls, from wigwam to high-rise, from horse to rocket, from buffalo trail to freeway, from settlement to megalopolis. The narrative is presented in such a lively fashion that before you know it you've searched with the *Conquistadores* for their dream cities; explored new vistas with Lewis and Clark, Pike and Smith; hunted and rendezvoused with all the better-known Mountain Men; trekked overland to Santa Fé and Oregon; preached and fought with the Indians from the Plains to the Rockies; mined for gold and silver from California east, north, and south—but always west of the Great River; ridden with the Pony Express and the Butterfield Stage; built the transcontinental railroad; roped and branded cattle with cowpokes; busted the sod of many a quarter section, and have wine and dined, not to mention talked, with nearly all the great and not-so-great folk that have colored and peopled the American West, and with never a dull moment. Well, almost never.

The literary texture of the narrative is so skillful that only upon reflection does



one detect blemishes. Other than picking a few specks out of the pepper in way of trivial error or chiding the matter of loose interpretation (here and there), this reviewer finds fault on one score that must be voiced: the book has serious imbalances—or is it prejudices? There is an excessive amount of wordage allotted to California and Nevada—at the expense of Texas, for example. Surely the Alamo deserves a bit more than just one tiny sentence. Now I personally don't mind (being a Californian)—but what will Texans say? The author may do well to avoid that state in his future travels (and Washington, D.C., at least for the time being). Texans, as we all know, have a long memory and are crack shots. "A word to the wise . . ." etc.

But for every blemish, there's a rose. The illustrations are generous and many have rarely been published before. To close the book, Professor Hawgood corrals topics that simply wouldn't neatly fit elsewhere and raises the question. "The End of the West? Twentieth-Century Frontiers" and adds for good measure an epilogue on "Other Peoples' Far Wests." To aid and comfort the uninitiated, he provides a basic bibliographical note.

DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR., is an associate professor of history at University of Southern California and the editor of the *Southern California Quarterly*.

*The Diaries of Peter Decker: Overland to California in 1849 and Life in the Mines, 1850-1851.* Edited by Helen S. Giffen. (Georgetown, California: The Talisman Press, 1966. 338 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by John A. Hussey.

Many dozens of California gold rush journals and narratives have appeared in print. A spate of them has poured from the presses during the last two centennial decades. To many readers and publishers it may seem that the saturation point has been reached. The appearance of one such engrossing book as *The Diaries of Peter Decker*, however, demonstrates that probably there never will be enough good firsthand gold rush narratives available to meet the eventual demand. Each is a fascinating and unique human document, recording one man's trials and triumphs in search of his own golden fleece. Such a story never grows old. And each throws new light on one of the most significant movements in our national development, one which approaches the Civil War in its hold on the public imagination.

Peter Decker, a young Ohio merchant, joined a group of his neighbors early in 1849 to organize a company to travel overland to the California gold fields. Employing mule-drawn wagons, the group pushed westward without special incident by the heavily used route through St. Joseph, South Pass, Fort Hall, and Carson Pass. They were early arrivals across the Sierra, and in what was to be the typical pattern, the organization broke up on reaching the mines.

Far from typical, however, was Decker's full and often spirited recording of the journey. His sensitivity is illustrated by his words concerning the cottonwoods encountered along Carson River after the horrible journey from the

Humboldt Sink: "After desert life a tree is an object of *Social* interest & these scattered & beautiful trees do appear so cheerful & homelike." The journal contains a number of items which will intrigue students of the West, among them being a fine glimpse of life on Ohio and Missouri River steamboats, and revealing thumbnail sketches of Colonel William H. Russell, Miles M. Goodyear, Louis Vasquez, Pegleg Smith, and Lansford W. Hastings, among others.

Unlike many 'Forty-niners, Decker did not stop keeping his diary upon reaching California. Perhaps the most important section of his journal is that covering his trip to the Trinity mines during the late summer and fall of 1849. He was among the first to flock to that new district and through his words can be traced the development of the camps that sprang to life there in the face of extreme hardships. Decker next tried mining along the Yuba River. His diary from March to September, 1850, presents a clear picture of the life of an average miner in the Northern Diggings. Of particular value is Decker's account of the difficulties—physical and legal—caused by a project in which he joined to divert the waters of the South Yuba to permit prospecting the bed. When this enterprise proved a failure, Decker moved to Nevada City and became a storekeeper.

In the remainder of the diary, to May 29, 1851, Decker records his experiences as a merchant in that fledgling settlement, in Marysville, Parks Bar, and other camps in the Yuba River area. Accounts of knife fights, practical jokes, and whippings enliven what could have been a dull recital of business transactions. It is interesting to note that Decker, a very solid citizen who later became mayor of Marysville, concluded that life and property in California had been safer under lynch law than under the legal processes in effect by 1851.

The diaries printed in this book were selected from a number of Decker manuscripts in the collections of the Society of California Pioneers. They have been skillfully edited by Mrs. Helen S. Giffen, the Society's Librarian and a recognized authority on California history. For the guidance of the general reader, however, it should be noted that there are a few typographical errors in the footnotes, such as the one on page 275 that dates the "discovery" of South Pass as 1842 instead of 1824 and that on page 278 which indicates that American Falls can be seen from Hudspeth's Cutoff. And it seems remarkable that a scholar of Mrs. Giffen's perspicacity would have failed to identify "Lawsons," which Decker mentioned while ascending the Sacramento Valley, as the ranch of the well-known, if not universally beloved, Peter Lassen.

The book is rounded out by an appendix containing the constitution of Decker's overland party and letters by several members of the group. Readers will be grateful for the detailed Index and the sturdy binding, because this work seems destined to become a standard and much-thumbed reference for scholars as well as a favorite narrative for the more general student of California history.

JOHN A. HUSSEY, who received his undergraduate and doctoral degrees from the University of California at Berkeley, is chief of the division of history and archeology of the western region of the National Park Service.



*Father Kino in Arizona.* By Fay Jackson Smith, John L. Kessell, and Francis J. Fox. (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1966. 142 pp. \$7.50.) Reviewed by Ernest J. Burrus, S.J.

The volume is a valuable addition to the steadily lengthening list of publications on the Borderlands missionary explorer and builder. An up-to-the-minute note is struck by Barry Goldwater in the Introduction (pp. xi-xvii) by including the latest information on the discovery and identification of Kino's remains in neighboring Magdalena—now Magdalena de Kino.

Mrs. Smith furnishes (pp. 1-52) a translation of several key documents dealing with Kino in Arizona, all of them published previously in Spanish but presented now for the first time in a complete English version and with a well-nigh exhaustive commentary.

More than a half century ago Bolton had listed Kino's *Relación diaria* (*Guide*, p. 55), and referred to it frequently in both *Kino's Historical Memoir* and in the *Rim of Christendom*, but did not include a translation of the text itself in his edition of Kino's diary, considering it extraneous to the more general work. The 1921 Mexico City edition of Kino's diary included the complete text (pp. 397-413), but the 1958 Madrid edition omitted it.

When the Swiss Jesuit, Johann Anton Balthasar, was gathering material in New Spain on the northern Mexican missions of the Jesuits—*Noticia de la California*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1757), and *Apostólicos Afanes* (Barcelona, 1754)—he asked his countryman Gaspar Stiger to assist him in the exacting task. Stiger conscientiously identified the pertinent documents he found in the mission centers and forwarded them to Balthasar in Mexico City. Kino's central mission of Dolores in Sonora was abandoned about 1745 at Stiger's insistence: he pointed out to superiors that only a few Indian families lived in its vicinity. Before Dolores was closed Stiger gathered up all the documents found there and sent them to Balthasar; Kino's *Relación diaria* was among them.

The other documents translated and edited by Mrs. Smith had appeared in the lone volume of the third series of the *Documentos para la historia de México* (Mexico City, 1856). Two of them merit a word of comment. Kino was so proud of the 1698 victory of the Pima-Sobaipuris over the marauding Jocomes that he made numerous copies of his account and sent them to the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The autographed text is preserved today in the Central Jesuit Archives (Rome), the Bancroft, and the Archivo General of Mexico City. The other document is a follow-up on the account. When Kino received an image of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios for the mission of the same name and had it inaugurated, he wrote an account of the event for his friends; the original account is still extant in the Archivo General de la Nación. The editors of the *Documentos* misread the title, the latter thus giving an inadequate idea of the real contents.

Mr. Kessell's study, "Peaceful Conquest in Southern Arizona," takes up pp. 53-95. It is the dramatic story of the settlement and vicissitudes of two Arizona

mission centers—Tumacácori and Guévavi. The author drew upon a large number of sources and carefully analyzed them. It is with the keenest anticipation that students of southwestern history can look forward to his full-length account of Guévavi to be published soon.

Father Fox gives us in his Bibliography (pp. 97-122) along with a brief biographical sketch of Kino the most complete and up-to-date list of publications of the missionary's writings, and books and articles about him. Bolton had published in his 1936 *Rim of Christendom* a detailed bibliography on Kino; in 1961 Donald M. Powell filled in the 1936-1960 gap.

Dom Bufkin is no stranger to students of the Jesuit borderland missions; he delineated the excellent maps in Eckhart's account of the Sonoran centers. Bufkin drew for the present volume two excellent maps: "Father Kino's Pimería Alta," which shows three of the missionary's pertinent expeditions, and the second—without a title—allows the reader to follow Kino and Salvatierra on their 1691 trip into southern Arizona.

Facsimiles of pertinent documents and a photograph of the Kino remains further enhance the volume, whose rich contents are made readily accessible through a good Index.

ERNEST J. BURRUS, S.J., is a member of the Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome and St. Louis, and the authority on Father Eusebio Kino.

*Explorations in Lower California.* By J. Ross Browne; edited by Spencer Murray. (Studio City: Vaquero Books, 1966, 70 pp. \$8.95.) Reviewed by William Michael Mathes.

*Explorations in Lower California* is a partial reprint of J. Ross Browne's fine series of articles which appeared in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1868, and which were reprinted in their entirety by Arizona Silhouettes, Tucson, in 1952. This present edition contains some of Browne's drawings, modern photographs of approximately the same subjects, and end-paper maps showing Browne's route and present-day roads. The idea of comparison between the Baja California of 1866 and 1966 is carried further by the intercalation, in italics, of commentary and description by the editor, Spencer Murray, as well as his inclusion of a list of modern hotels following the text.

After a stint in the Treasury Department, J. Ross Browne was engaged by the Lower California Company, a land speculation and colonization enterprise in New York, to explore the possibilities for settlement and mining in the region of the company's option. Sailing from San Francisco in 1866, Browne reached Cabo San Lucas without incident. Proceeding overland from that point, he visited San José del Cabo, Santiago de las Coras, El Real de San Antonio, and La Paz. Following a short sojourn in La Paz, Browne continued his trek in Todos Santos and Bahía Magdalena whence he returned to La Paz.

Written in the tongue-in-cheek style of nineteenth-century journalists, Browne's descriptions are quite interesting and entertaining. Of course, Browne's viewpoint was that of an agent for a colonization company interested



in settling and eventually annexing the region to the United States. It is, therefore, given to many value judgments based upon the North American morality of the period. He found the land to be of little value, and this, coupled with the sloth of the inhabitants and the corruption of the new government, left little to be desired in Baja California.

Annotations to Browne's descriptions are made by Spencer Murray. Initially they are irritating to the reader by virtue of their being intercalated in the text, but this initial problem is unfortunately compounded by their, in many instances, gross inaccuracies. Almost nothing explaining the situation in Mexico, i.e., the Empire of Maximilian, is presented to the reader. Furthermore, historical data when given is generally incomplete or inaccurate. There is no evidence showing, as Murray notes, that Ulloa was first to sight Cabo San Lucas (it was, in all likelihood, first sighted by Fortún Jiménez), that Cavenish's *Content* and *Desire* were separated and never to unite after the sacking and burning of the Santa Ana in 1587, that Fortún Jiménez was the "commander" of the Cortés 1532 voyage (unless one considers the murder of Diego Becerra by Jiménez the standard for achieving "command" even at that early date), that the first Baja California settlement failed because of "heavy seas," that the Baja California pearl "industry" functioned for four hundred years, that cartography of the region merely developed with northward exploration, and that the Lower California Land Company was the "last" large scale attempt to colonize the peninsula, to name but a few of the more gross errors. It may be concluded that in this instance Browne was far more familiar with the history of the region than is the editor.

Further confusion is derived from inconsistencies in the text of the notes. Many names are corrected by the editor but why does he not correct "Varegas" (Venegas), "Commundo" (Comondú), and "Viscaino" (Vizcaino) to name but a few? Furthermore, in one place the U. S. Agricultural Survey is under E. W. Nelson in 1905 and in another under E. A. Nelson in 1906; mention of German and Japanese interest in Bahía Magdalena is made, but no mention of the interest of the Taft administration in that area is noted.

Apart from the distraction and misinformation caused by the annotations, the typography leaves much to be desired. Poorly printed, with many dropped letters and an absence of the *tilde* and accent, on a nonflexible paper, this new abridged edition of Browne does little to justify the asking price of \$8.95.

WILLIAM MICHAEL MATHES, the associate editor of the *California Historical Quarterly*, is an assistant professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

*Captain Charles M. Weber, Pioneer of the San Joaquin and Founder of Stockton, California.* By George P. Hammond and Dale L. Morgan. (Berkeley, California: The Friends of Bancroft Library, 1966. 118 pp. Available to The Friends of the Bancroft Library.) Reviewed by Joseph A. McGowan.

A beautifully designed and printed book by Lawton and Alfred Kennedy, fit to arouse the acquisitive instinct of any collector of fine books—that is the

first impression one receives as he leafs through this volume. The content, however, is somewhat more difficult to describe. It is essentially a descriptive catalogue of the papers of Charles M. Weber, founder of Stockton. The first thirty pages are a resumé of Weber's life, which sets a frame of reference for the catalogued materials which follow. Because no one has yet written an adequate life of Weber, this prologue relies heavily on George Tinkham, San Joaquin County's well known historian of the nineteenth century who interviewed Weber extensively about 1879. Other accounts by eyewitnesses who happened to comment on Stockton's founding father are also used to fill in gaps in his correspondence.

Although this brief biography provides an adequate outline for the period 1841 to 1853, it has little to say about the subsequent period from 1854 until Weber's death in 1881. However, it must be noted that the point of the whole book is the need for a complete biography of Weber, for which this catalogue would be essential. Weber arrived in California with the Bidwell Party in 1841, and soon became energetically involved in business ventures around San Jose. He played a most interesting role during American acquisition of the state, and then settled on the land grant he had acquired in the Stockton area. He was an interesting, important, and admirable man. Nevertheless the editors seem somewhat romantically inclined towards their subject, finding little that is critical, including the shooting of a fleeing intruder (for which he was convicted), and the firing of a "meddling and inquisitive editor" who "probably" had insulted Weber. There are also a few inconsistencies which need clarification. It is stated on page 4, for example, that Gulnac and Weber obtained a land grant of eleven square leagues (48,000 acres), and on page 8 that Weber bought his partner's share. Then on page 27 the text refers to the "original two leagues" of 8,727.80 acres.

The next thirty pages list in chronological order and summarize the content of letters to and from Weber, with substantial quotes from the more important documents. Several of these letters are copies of originals in other Bancroft collections or in the Huntington or State libraries. The reader will find those between 1841 and 1848 especially informative. Thereafter they are more intimately related to the Stockton area and of immeasurable value to historians of that region. There then follows a brief, general description of the six thousand items of the collection labeled "Accounts and Financial, Legal and Land Documents." The catalogue of maps and pictures is valuable, while the description of the holdings in Weber's library is most informative to one who has wondered about the intellectual interest of the state's pioneers.

This book is a "must" for collectors of fine printing, for research libraries and those interested in the Stockton area, but the general reader will find only the first half of it interesting.

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*Historic Ships Afloat.* By Phyllis Flanders Dorset. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967. 167 pp. \$4.50.) Reviewed by Dallas E. Livingston-Little.

This is a guide to thirty-three historical American ships which are afloat and open to visitors. They span the period from Plymouth Rock to Korea, and include ships of colonization, fishing vessels, coastal schooners, square-rigged windjammers, steamers of various sorts, and warships from the Revolution to World War II and the Korean conflict.

Some of the ships are replicas (the *Mayflower*, *Godspeed*, *Susan Constant*), many are restorations, complete or partial, and some have been maintained in their original condition.

The author attempts by short, fictional accounts, as well as descriptive factual passages to clarify the role of each ship or class of ships. As a special feature, she includes statistical data on each ship, including type, builder, date launched, length, displacement, means of propulsion, speed, and complement.

This is entertaining and instructive reading for everyone, and will serve also as a tourists' guide to the location of the ships, seven of which are in Pacific ports, four in the Gulf states, three in the Great Lakes area, and the remainder along the Atlantic Coast.

Of special interest to Californians are the *C. A. Thayer*, a San Francisco built and berthed schooner, the square-rigged *Star of India* in San Diego and *Balclutha* in San Francisco, the sidewheel ferryboat *Eureka* and the steam schooner *Wapama* are also in San Francisco. In addition, there is the schooner *Wawona* in Seattle, the windjammer *Falls of Clyde* in Honolulu, the lightship *Columbia* in Astoria, Oregon, the Battleship *Missouri* at Bremerton, Washington, and the Patrol Craft USS *Banning* at Hood River, Oregon.

Seagoing ships have played a significant role in American life, military, economic, and recreational. Unfortunately surviving examples are a bit cumbersome for preservation in museums. Mrs. Dorset's book tells what has been done and where to find the examples of all these types of vessels.

DALLAS E. LIVINGSTON-LITTLE is professor of history at Los Angeles Valley College, Van Nuys. In addition, Dr. Livingston-Little is an associate editor of the *Journal of the West*.

*United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives: A Calendar.* By Finbar Kenneally, O.F.M. (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1966. 359 pp. \$20.00.) Reviewed by Francis J. Weber.

The need for a calendar of the Roman Archives of Propaganda Fide has long been felt by those of us who have laboriously paged through the 3355 volumes of documents housed in the Sacred Congregation's headquarters on the Piazza di Spagna. Organized in 1622 to oversee the expansion of the Catholic apostolate in underdeveloped areas, the Propaganda controls the faculties or delegated powers of all missionaries working within its carefully defined sphere of influence. Generally speaking, even today, a considerable number of residential bishops and practically all prelates in those territories not

yet elevated to diocesan status are subject to the congregation and its cardinal-prefect, known in clerical circles as the "red pope."

Perhaps in no other country was the Congregation of Propaganda Fide more successful in fulfilling its purposes than in the United States between the time of United States Independence and 1908. For that reason the correspondence between the prelates of this nation and officials of Propaganda Fide make that congregation's archives more important for historians of the United States Church than all the other ecclesiastical record depositories taken together.

Since 1955 the Academy of American Franciscan History has been preparing a systematic calendar of Propaganda Fide documents with the patient and efficient collaboration of a leading European researcher, Mr. Anton Debevec. In addition to paying a justly earned "tribute to the memory of the many Franciscans who had labored in the Americas under the guidance of Propaganda," the documentary catalogue was envisioned "as a service to the church historians of our beloved country." The initial volume of Series One, covering the years between 1673 and 1844, has just been released under the capable editorship of Finbar Kenneally, O.F.M., the highly respected compiler and translator of the Fermín Francisco de Lasuén letters.

Publication of this tome will open whole new vistas to the study of United States Catholicism. Scholars, for example, may finally delve into the long-suspected Jesuit maneuvering of property titles in colonial Maryland. A more balanced view will now be obtainable of the overall missionary program in the United States, especially the heretofore underestimated part played by the Vincentian Fathers.

There is no dearth of humor in the many and varied problems submitted to Propaganda Fide for appraisal. One letter, written on November 27, 1844, by Anthony Blanc, Bishop of New Orleans, presents the following problem: "To a white couple, a few months after their marriage, a colored baby was born. The husband sought and obtained a civil divorce. He now wishes to contract a second marriage, with the blessing of the Church." The prelate then goads Propaganda Fide Archives by asking "what the decision should be, in case the baby had been white."

The format of the 2278 entries is extremely useful. Each document is identified with a call number and then located by its designation in the Propaganda Fide Archives. It is further described by names of correspondents and the date and place of origin. Following a brief digest of each entry is a note about the language employed. A useful bit of information, usually lacking in such calendars, is the enumeration in each entry of "persons mentioned" in the next of the documents.

While readers are warned by the compiler that "mistakes are almost inevitable," this reviewer finds that even the more outstanding factual slips do not substantially detract from the book's usefulness. Alternate spellings account for many unavoidable errors, such as the dual entry for J. G. A. Alleman and



J. S. Alemany who were actually the same person. Oftentimes the author of a particular letter would accommodate his spelling to the language in which he was writing. Wisely, Father Kenneally reduced to a minimum the titles and forms of address sanctioned by European protocol. One suggestion for the General Index planned as the final volume of the series is the listing of given names rather than initials along with a generous use of topical or subject-orientated entries.

Without question, this calendar of *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives* is the most singularly indispensable reference tool issued in the last quarter century for historians of American Catholicism.

FRANCIS J. WEBER, author of numerous volumes on the Catholic History of Southern California, is the Archivist of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles.

*The Trains We Rode*. By Lucius Beebe and Donald Clegg. (Berkeley, California: Howell-North Books, 1966. 2 vols. \$15.00 per volume.) Reviewed by Donald Duke.

We have grown accustomed in our time to the ever increasing tempo of social and economic change. For better or worse, opulence in today's language implies a meal produced in a plastic kitchen and a soft bed formed around foam rubber. For over one hundred years, luxury in the transportation world was the age of Pullman Standard. The passenger train remained king of travel until the end of World War II; then the national mood switched to the speed of air travel. Today a few grand hotels on wheels seem to linger on in a kind of Indian summer, but how long they will last has railroad executives guessing.

*The Trains We Rode* is a large and beautiful two volume set and a fitting tribute to one of the most romantic periods of American life. It all began way back in 1938 when Lucius Beebe founded the popular railroad book market with his pictorial volume *High Iron*, so beautifully subtitled "A Book of Trains." Thus emerged a man who fascinated the largest audience of rail buffs and historians with nearly twenty volumes of steam railroading during one-quarter century, only to reach end-of-track aboard *The Trains We Rode*.

This work covers the era of the de luxe train, when patrons of the *Broadway Limited*, the *Sunset Limited*, and the *Super Chief*—to name a few—enjoyed the amenities of class, far more comforting than the best offered by an Air Lines jet or a weekend at the Waldorf.

*The Trains We Rode* is mainly a book of pictures. Famous trains, famous people, of parlor cars, observations cars, and all the great caravans of Pullman green that once rolled on rails in the heyday of railroading. Beebe has gleaned dusty archives and unearthed astounding photographs which he delivers with loving care. Historians and those who rode and saw the great trains will have a banquet of viewing and reading.

It is difficult to find a common denominator for a set of books as varied with luxury trains as *The Trains We Rode*. It's a feast for those who would

rather look at train pictures than eat. Beebe never failed to savor his books of railroading without a blend of lore covering rolling stock, the variations of parlor-car design, the beauties of a depot, the attire of train crews, and naturally the menu in the dining car. The plain fact is that Beebe was in love with his subject. He combined expertise and nostalgia to bring misty eyes to those who rode the great trains, and memories to the younger generation who wished they were born twenty years earlier.

Volume I begins with the *Alton Limited* and Volume II closes with the *Wabash* and a complete Index for both sections. *The Trains We Rode* was America on rails, a glamorous age that may never pass this way again.

In the forty-five years preceding his death in 1966, Lucius Beebe climaxed his career as an author with forty-one titles, nearly one per year. Many knew Beebe through the columns he wrote for the New York *Herald Tribune* or the San Francisco *Chronicle*, his friends knew him for his rail books, a choice few for his books on poetry, essay, and bibliography. Beebe was a man larger than life, his books will keep rolling on the high iron.

DONALD DUKE, author of several volumes on railroad history, is a leading Southern California authority in this field.

*To California and the South Seas: The Diary of Albert G. Osbun, 1849-1851.* Edited by John Haskell Kemble. (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1966. 233 pp. \$6.50.) Reviewed by Richard W. Barsness.

Albert Gallatin Osbun was a forty-one year old physician and member of a group of Ohioans (headed by former Governor Wilson Shannon) who left their families temporarily to seek fortunes in the California Gold Rush. Osbun's diary consists of an account of the voyage to California via the Isthmus of Panama, glimpses of life in San Francisco, six months of relatively unrewarding mining activity on the Yuba and upper Sacramento rivers before the party disbanded, a speculative commercial voyage to the South Sea Islands, and finally a journey across Mexico on the way back to Ohio.

As an adventurer, Osbun seems notable mainly for his repeated failures, which appear to have derived from more than just bad luck, for the evidence suggests his judgment of both men and opportunities was not particularly perceptive. While Governor Shannon attended to business in Sacramento and San Francisco, Osbun helped direct the party's mining activity, but with only limited success, for the hardships and vagaries of placer mining made him and his associates willing victims to the lure of rumored strikes elsewhere. More than once they abandoned stream locations which in reality had only begun to yield their treasure to make laborious moves to supposedly richer diggings that proved equally ordinary when worked for only a short time.

Upon his return to San Francisco in January, 1850, Osbun joined a Mr. Perry in a project to trade cloth and assorted manufactures for South Sea



Island foodstuffs which were then bringing handsome prices in San Francisco. Osbun and his partner chartered the 123 ton brig *Rodolph*, which after complications and delays that bode ill for the project, finally departed for the South Seas in late April, 1850. Since Osbun had nothing special to contribute to the venture beyond his capital, and Perry proved deficient both as a captain and a trader, it is little wonder the voyage produced a loss rather than a profit, and the doctor decided to leave the "great land of Gold & humbuggery" and start for home.

Osbun's diary entries are quite uneven in quality, both for general reading and as a primary source, and overall they comprise a rather ordinary addition to the literature of the Gold Rush. He possessed no unusual literary abilities, and as a consequence, the principal merit of his journal derives from those episodes where he had ample time to record his observations in detail. For example, his description of crossing the Isthmus of Panama and waiting for the steamer to San Francisco is colorful, as are his descriptions of native life on the various islands (including the Samoan Group) visited by the *Rodolph*. The pages devoted to the mining region, however, are disappointing, for the doctor's own illness at times and the press of mining activity and of caring for numerous other sick people curtailed the time and effort Osbun could spend on his journal. Entries are both repetitious in their content and rather fragmentary in their coverage of the Shannon Party and offer no really new information or insight concerning the Gold Rush.

John Haskell Kemble has met the challenge of editing this diary with the same careful scholarship and good judgment which have characterized his previous books as author and editor. He has labored diligently to determine the identity of persons, places, and vessels mentioned by Osbun, as well as flora and fauna. The latter are identified in footnotes throughout the text, while persons, places, and vessels are presented alphabetically in separate appendixes which follow Osbun's journal and nine letters written by members of the Shannon Party. In addition, Professor Kemble has written an excellent Introduction summarizing the sequence of events related in the diary, thereby enabling the reader to bridge the confusion which otherwise would arise from the fragmentary nature of the narrative at points.

RICHARD W. BARSNESS, a student of Los Angeles' transportation needs in the middle 1800's, is an assistant professor of business history at Northwestern University.

*Oregon Historical Quarterly Index, 1940-1960: Volumes XLI-LXI.* Compiled by Josephine Baumgartner. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1967. 711 pp. \$21.00, hard-covered; \$16.50, paper-covered.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

The Oregon Historical Society must indeed be most thankful to Miss Josephine Baumgartner for compiling the *Index* to the *Quarterly* for the period of 1940-1960. Miss Baumgartner, a distinguished librarian and student of Oregon's history, has made a truly significant contribution to scholarship in indexing this

fine state journal. Unlike various indices of local and national historical journals, her compilation does not consist just of enumerating volumes and pages of each entry. On the contrary, every entry that includes different aspects or subjects is subtopically divided and located so that the researcher immediately knows what volume and what pages he has to read to obtain the needed information. Thus, the researcher, who will be indebted to Miss Baumgartner forever, does not have to plow through the innumerable volumes and pages that are listed in some indices lacking subtopical entries.

It is indeed a pleasure to read entries, such as that of Father Francis Norbert Blanchet, for example, where the compiler's thoroughness and well-planned approach produce an invaluable historical tool. The *Oregon Historical Quarterly Index* is just such a tool; and in the words of Director Thomas Vaughan, "Without [such] indexes, scholars would wander through endless jungles of needless and germane information. Happy the field of study which has attracted able bibliographers and indexers, and others with a special understanding of the inner workings of scholarship and librarianship." This reviewer can only add that "Happy are the readers and researchers of Oregon's history, for their task has been alleviated by an enlightened indexer."

MANUEL P. SERVÍN is the editor of the *California Historical Quarterly* and an associate professor of history at the University of Southern California.



## In Memoriam

ROCKWELL D. HUNT

1868-1966

It is in view of my friendship of fifty-four years with Rockwell D. Hunt that this tribute is written. It was by Dr. Hunt's favorable recommendation to President Bovard in 1911 that I had the opportunity of coming to the University of Southern California. Throughout that first year Dr. Hunt shared his office and broad, flat-top desk with me. He did more, for he shared the breadth and depth and warmth of his wonderful personality with me.

As he sat on one side and I on the other side of that generous desk, a friendship began which grew and grew, and never stopped growing. For thirty-seven years, until his retirement at USC, we were in daily association five days a week. After he moved to Stockton, then to Calistoga, and back to Stockton, letters flew back and forth between us about every two weeks.

*Friendships* played a large role in Dr. Hunt's life. His correspondence with friends was unusually large. He was not only your friend and mine, but he was more. He was a friend to every student in his classes. He was a friend to every worthy cause. In brief, he was a friend to man.

*Scholarship* was repeatedly emphasized by him. He not only practiced it in his books and articles, but he repeatedly encouraged it in others. He accepted the usual definition of scholarship, but he did more. He wrote: "The scholar is equipped with the armor of the Ages." He went on to say: "If you would seek admittance to the temple of scholarship, you must enter through the courts of an unbiased education, pass through the portals of humility and reverence, cross the vestibule paved with obstacles overcome, and rise on the elevator of faith to the serene heights where you become the pupil of nature, of man, of God."

*Education* in all its phases was Dr. Hunt's lifework. In his travels and when registering in hotels, he did not use the title professor, doctor, or dean, but always registered as Rockwell D. Hunt, educator. He not only taught courses in economics and California history but inaugurated many educational innovations. Soon after he joined the faculty of the University of Southern California in 1908, he instituted a set of lectures, about twenty in number, on specific municipal problems, which in Dr. Hunt's words became "a modest forerunner of a major Division of the University, the School of Government." In 1910, he became the diligent secretary of the Graduate Council of the University, and later, the first dean of the Graduate School, a position he held for a quarter of a century, always with increasing credit to the cause of higher education. He also founded and became the first dean of the School of Commerce and Business Administration of the University of Southern California. After his retirement at USC, he served for seven years as Director of the California History Foundation at the University of the Pacific, a university that he served admirably both before and after his thirty-seven years at the University of Southern California.

*Adventure* could well have been Dr. Hunt's middle name. In our various travels together, he usually led the way. Whether a journey was to the top of "the lost city of the Incas" in the high Andes, or over the Arctic Circle by plane, he lost no time in meeting people and in learning how they were meeting the vicissitudes of their humble daily lives.

*Time* was treasured highly by Dr. Hunt. Once he asserted: "Time is my greatest asset." He observed that there is time for what needs to be done, providing time is used judiciously. He had time for students, time for university associates, time for endless committee meetings, time not to hurry, and what is more, he declared: "I am not so busy but that I have time for observation, time for reflection, and time to write the results." His twenty books, written in superb literary style, testify to the fact that he had time "to write the results."

His was an *orderly and incisive mind*. He not only maintained a note-taking and record-keeping system, but he did more. He rose above categories and classifications, and lay hold of the symbols of creative thinking.

Dr. Hunt was a *lifelong Californian*. He was born in Sacramento in 1868, and he lived to within ten days of ninety-eight years. His doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins University in 1895 was on California history. Most of his twenty books dealt with California history, and his last one, entitled, *Boyhood Days of "Mr. California,"* appeared summer before last in Dr. Hunt's ninety-eighth year. His greatest public recognition came in 1954 when he was officially recognized by Governor Knight of California as "Mr. California."

What a wonderful *Philosophy of Life* was his! In one of his letters he wrote that he could spend all his time grieving for his aging friends, or because he himself was growing old, but these things, to quote: "I refuse to do, knowing full well that I have work to do, a bit of sunshine to spread abroad." In one of his finest literary hours he wrote: "Of this I am resolved, that while it is yet day, I shall not always dwell on the receding past, but shall continue to rejoice in the spirit of youth, inviting perennial sunshine to find its dwelling place in my soul."

A basic *Religious Belief* of his is revealed in this statement: "The noblest growth of which human nature is capable is to attain to a true idea of God, unfolded so clearly and livingly as to move one to adoration and to inspiration to be like Him." His religious view was neatly expressed in a letter to one of his sons, as reported in his autobiography: "I beseech you to call to mind the simple requirement—'to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God.'"

*Ethical Values* were inseparable from Dr. Hunt's religion. He was uncompromisingly opposed to wrong-doing, as he saw it, in any aspect of life. He believed in a moral universe in which "one truth cannot be at war with another," and in which "complete intellectual and spiritual integrity transcend all man-made creeds and denominations."

*World Affairs* increasingly aroused his interest in his later years. In my last conversation with him when he was seated in his wheel chair beside the white oleander blossoms that he much admired, in the spacious courtyard of Hillhaven



in Stockton, world peace played a prominent role in his conversation. In one of his last letters to me he asked: "Why is the world so slow in banning all nuclear war?" Then, he plaintively expressed a wish: "I wish that I could be twenty-five or thirty years younger and take an active part in the struggle for universal peace among the nations."

Rockwell D. Hunt still lives. Of this we can be sure, that he lives in the lives of his loved ones and his friends, in the lives of numberless students and his associates, in the countless deeds of good will, faithfully and nobly performed.

Although now the golden bond of friendship is broken, although now the silver cord which united his life with ours is broken, although the wheel at the fountain of his inspiration for us is broken; yet now, his life takes on a new illumination, and now, his life is already becoming hallowed to those who communicated most deeply with him—"our unforgetting and our never-to-be-forgotten friend."

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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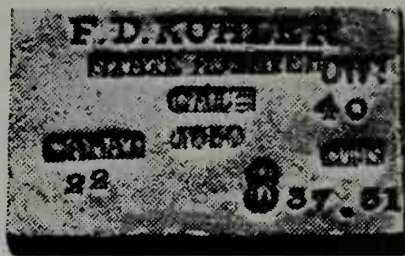
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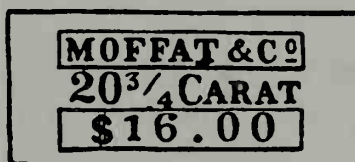
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# The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

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Lady Bountiful: Margaret Crocker of Sacramento  
*By* BARBARA LOWNEY

The Era of the Lemon: A History of  
Santa Paula, California  
*By* MICHAEL R. BELKNAP

Pioneering Land Development in the Californias:  
An Interview with David Otto Brant  
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Vol. XLVII

Contents for June 1968

No. 2

---

Lady Bountiful: Margaret Crocker of Sacramento	99
By Barbara Lowney	
The Era of the Lemon: A History of Santa Paula, California	113
By Michael R. Belknap	
Pioneering Land Development in the Californias: An Interview with David Otto Brant	141
Edited, with an Introduction, by Noel J. Stowe	
Judah Philip Benjamin in California	157
By Edgar M. Kahn	
Book Reviews	175
Book Notes	183
By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager	

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## BOOK REVIEWS

- STANGER, *Sawmills in the Redwoods: Logging on the San Francisco Peninsula*, by Merrill J. Mattes 175
- BROWN, *Sawpits in the Spanish Red Woods, 1787-1849*, by Merrill J. Mattes 176
- POURADE, ed., *Ancient Hunters of the Far West*, by Charles C. Colley 176
- HOLMES, *Ewing Young, Master Trapper*, by Andrew Rolle 177
- CLARK, *They Sang for Horses: The Impact of the Horse on Navajo and Apache Folklore*, by John L. Kessell 178
- GALVIN, ed. *Western America in 1846-1847: The Original Travel Diary of Lieutenant J. W. Abert Who Mapped New Mexico for the United States Army*, by William N. Lyon 179
- CUSHMAN, *The Great North Trail*, by Donald Paul Greene 180



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# Lady Bountiful: Margaret Crocker of Sacramento

*By* BARBARA LOWNEY

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*Courtesy California State Library*

Mrs. E. B. Crocker

SACRAMENTO'S CROCKER ART GALLERY, long known as the best north of San Francisco Bay, is a landmark in the capital city. It was a gift to the city from Margaret Crocker, widow of E. B. Crocker who had accumulated his wealth from construction of the transcontinental railroad. It was his widow, however, who gave this gallery to the city and whose gracious gifts earned her the title of "Lady Bountiful."

---

MISS LOWNEY is a third generation Sacramentan, whose great-grandfather settled in this area during the 1860's. Her interest in the Crocker Art Gallery, its origin and how it came into the possession of the city, sparked her interest in Mrs. E. B. Crocker. This paper was originally written for a class at Sacramento State College.

Mrs. Crocker, born Margaret Ellen Rhodes, was a second generation American, with a father of German descent and a mother of Irish descent. Her paternal grandparents settled in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, probably some time in the eighteenth century. Through hard work and saving, the family became moderately wealthy.<sup>1</sup>

Margaret's father, John Rhodes, with his wife and family, desired a home in the West and settled in Stark County, Ohio. The Rhodes were among the early pioneers in northern Ohio, then a wild and desolate region, but they worked hard to make a home for themselves and their family. There was little contact with any other family in the area, but occasionally they received visits from members of the Rhodes family who could travel on horseback from Pennsylvania.

The farm was only beginning to show the effects of the hard working pioneer and his young sons when Mr. Rhodes died from the effects of a rattlesnake bite. His was the first death that occurred in that section of Ohio.<sup>2</sup> As a result of her husband's death, Mrs. Rhodes was left with twelve children, three girls and nine boys. The family had no means of subsistence other than that which they gained from the soil; and, with the help of her children, Mrs. Rhodes carried on the farm work.

On February 25, 1821, several months after her father's death, Margaret Ellen was born. The youth of this girl who would later become a nationally known benefactress, was spent in the hard working, routine life of a frontierswoman. Margaret was happy as a child and, probably because she was the youngest, was the pet of the family.

When Mrs. Rhodes died in 1848, the family disintegrated. Some of the children were married; others moved to various sections of the country. Margaret, a young woman of twenty-seven, lived with relatives, keeping house for a bachelor brother or assisting a married one, and earned money by sewing.

At the age of twenty-six, while visiting her sister in South Bend, Indiana, Margaret met Edwin Bryant Crocker, a lawyer, widower, and six years her senior.<sup>3</sup> An interesting story accompanies Margaret's meeting with Crocker. Her brother-in-law, a tailor, had an order for a suit of clothes from Mr. Crocker. Margaret assisted in the sewing but, when she sewed the vest, put the inside pocket on the



wrong side. It was not noticed until just before the suit was delivered. The tailor, however, delivered the suit and endeavored to make explanations and apologies. Mr. Crocker, to the tailor's surprise, regarded it as a good joke and asked to meet the "erring" young woman.

Edwin Crocker, born April 26, 1818, at Jamesville, Onondaga County, New York, was the oldest of five children, the second of whom, Charles, became one of the Big Four who built the Central Pacific Railway. Edwin studied to be a civil engineer and served in the construction of railways in New York State. With his family, he moved to South Bend, Indiana, in 1836, where for about a year he cut down trees and cleared land to establish a farm for the family. Since farming did not appeal to him, he decided to enter law. In 1842, he was admitted to law practice before the Circuit Court of Indiana.<sup>4</sup>

At this early period he appeared to have the same great force of character as his future wife. An Abolitionist, he believed no man should take God-given freedom from another. The slave issue dominated the East in the 1840's. Crocker actively participated in the struggle over slavery by hiding many Negroes in his home and by driving them at night to places north where they would ultimately be taken to the Canadian border. His home became a prominent station in the Underground Railway. Slave owners and their sympathizers were so ruthless and unrelenting in getting back their runaway slaves, that Crocker decided to quit his law practice, leave South Bend, and join his brother Charles, who was in the drygoods business in California.

Early in 1852 Edwin left for New York with the understanding that Margaret, after visiting her old home in Ohio, would join him at Canandaigua. The plan was for Margaret to meet his six-year old daughter Mary who had been living with relatives. After this, Margaret and Edwin were to be married and start for California. But at the designated time Margaret did not appear. Edwin waited as long as he could but, since important business awaited him in New York, he made arrangements to leave by the evening train. Meantime, Margaret, delayed by missing trunks, finally arrived, but failed to find Edwin. She sadly decided to take the evening train and return unmarried, to South Bend. At a hotel dinner table, just an hour or

two before each was to depart, they met. The misunderstanding was corrected, and they both left for New York and were married by Thomas Beecher, a personal friend of Crocker's. A few days later, Edwin and Margaret left for California via Panama and arrived in San Francisco on September 1, 1852. Upon arrival, the Crockers came directly to Sacramento where Edwin started a law practice, and Margaret set up housekeeping.

Success did not come immediately. During their first year in Sacramento, fire and flood destroyed the city and their small home located between Seventh and Eighth streets on J. At the time of the fire in November, 1852, Margaret was seriously ill with typhoid and was not expected to live. She had to be carried from her flaming home on a mattress.

As an emergency home, Edwin erected a one-room shanty on the location at the cost of fifty dollars, unfortunately the flood came in January of 1853. The shanty was elevated above the water by placing timbers under it; however the logs were removed when the water began to recede. Then, the water rose suddenly at night, and the Crockers found their bedroom floor covered with water in which floated soda crackers from a large box in the corner of the room. They hastily put the bed and stove on blocks to keep them out of the water and used a plank as a pathway between the two. Food was prepared on the bed, cooked on the stove, and carried back to the bed to be eaten.

As a result of these disasters, brother Charles Crocker's drygoods store had to be rebuilt. When this task was finished, Charles brought his wife out from the East, and the two families lived in three rooms behind the store. Each family had a bedroom, and the third room was used in common as a dining room, kitchen, parlor, and store room.

When living conditions were finally in order, Edwin and Margaret sent for his daughter, Mary. They had their own first child, Katie, in 1854, followed by Nellie, Jennie, Louise, Amy, and their only son Edwin who died in infancy.

Edwin Crocker then formed the law firm of Crocker, McKune, and Robinson in 1854 and became a successful attorney. When the Central Pacific Railway Company was organized in 1861, he became their lawyer. The resignation of Chief Justice Stephen Fields from



the Supreme Court of California in 1863 prompted Governor Leland Stanford to appoint Edwin Crocker, brother of his business associate, to fill the vacancy. During this period on the California Supreme Court, Judge Crocker rendered more decisions than had any other justice.<sup>5</sup> He was reputed to be one of the two or three most striking and colorful justices in the history of the court.

Edwin Crocker's energy and enthusiasm were restricted after June 1869 when he suffered a paralytic stroke from which he never recovered.<sup>6</sup> It was at that time that he withdrew from the Central Pacific, but not without a financial settlement that enabled his fortune to continue to grow.

The family moved into a fashionable home at the present site at the corner of Second and O streets in 1869, and in the adjoining lot to the west started construction of an art gallery and general recreation center. Judge and Mrs. Crocker chose Seth Babson who had designed and erected Governor Stanford's home, for this work.<sup>7</sup> The grounds surrounding the home were laid off in terraces and wide lawns and had many flower beds, palms, magnolia trees, arbors, and fountains.<sup>8</sup>

Before their gallery was completed, Mrs. Crocker and her family accompanied her husband to Europe to collect paintings as well as to enjoy a family venture. Most of the trip was spent in Dresden, Germany, where the Crockers obtained what later became known as the most important and finest private collection of art treasures in America.<sup>9</sup> They were in Paris at the outset of the Franco-Prussian War when the French people were trying to raise the indemnity demanded by the Germans, and many wealthy art lovers were forced to sacrifice their treasures. This sacrifice of art objects was the Crocker's opportunity to add to their collection, and they obtained close to two thousand items.<sup>10</sup> A large group of the paintings were from German schools as well as a few from the Italian School. The Crocker family returned to Sacramento in September of 1872.<sup>11</sup>

Interest in art led Crocker to become curator of the department of fine arts for the Agassiz Institute, a naturalist society. As a member of the society, he added more works to the collection, which was valued at about \$400,000.00 at the time of his death.<sup>12</sup>

The gallery that contained the Crocker art treasures was fire proof. That building, at that time, had a style of architecture and ornateness

not found anywhere in California. The glass was cut and delicately etched in fine designs, and floors laid in Roman tiling. Mrs. Crocker, however, had the museum floor laid in fancy woods in an ornamental design. The gallery had a magnificent collection of portraits of men of California and over seven hundred oil pastel paintings. The library contained three thousand studies from artists in all parts of the world.<sup>13</sup> An added feature was the "feathered tribe" department, where a taxidermist was employed in wiring and putting in place the fifteen hundred birds.<sup>14</sup>

His interest in agriculture led Edwin Crocker to become interested in the graphic arts. He exhibited various agricultural products at the California State Fair, where artists also had their paintings exhibited. Crocker saw and became enthusiastic about the paintings of Charles and Arthur Nahl of San Francisco, and he later became their chief patron.<sup>15</sup>

During this period, the Crockers were known in Sacramento for their cordial hospitality, and Mrs. Crocker, especially, for her charity. The poor benefited from her kindnesses as well as did churches, charities, and schools. The doors of the gallery were opened to the public at least once a week either without charge or for a small fee to benefit the city's orphanage. Children under twelve years of age however, were not allowed because of their mischievousness. The general collection was often turned over to local associations and charities for fund raising projects.<sup>16</sup> At the time of Judge Crocker's death, the art collection far surpassed any private collection in North America.

Edwin Crocker died on the afternoon of June 24, 1875, at the age of fifty-seven. Funeral services were held in the Crocker home with the minister from the Congregational Church officiating. Then tycoon Charles Crocker looked after his brother's financial interests so that the fortune continued to grow. Mrs. Crocker carried on and enlarged the tradition of generosity started by her and her husband.

According to the judge's will, the gallery and its contents were given in equal shares to his wife and children, with the provision that it should remain intact until the youngest daughter, Amy, became of age, and then they were to do with it what they wished. When the time came for the family to decide how to dispose of the gallery, the



# The Great Flood of 1862 at Sacramento City



Lying on the Northern California plain under the towering Sierra foothills, bisected by the Sacramento River, Sacramento City was fair prey each summer to the flooding runoff of the melting Sierra snows.

Flood and fire were all too common in the experience of most early California towns and villages. Wood construction of buildings and mountain streams swollen by melting winter snows cascading off the Sierras were predictable hazards.

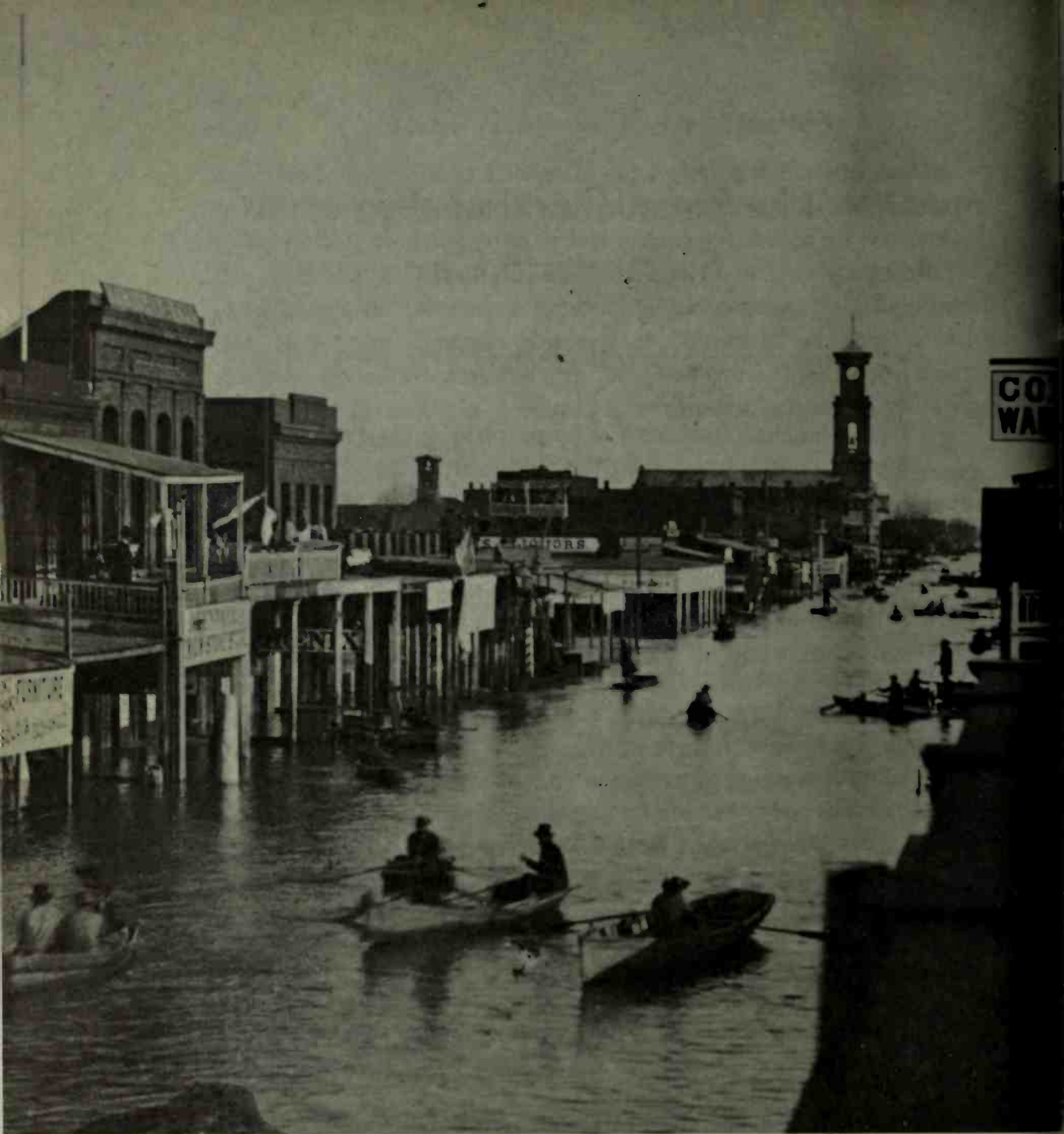
Bitter experience had taught the Sacramento citizens to gird for floods. Total protection was neither economically or technically feasible. Levees were built and maintained. Systems of advance warning of teeming mountain streams were developed; but still the devastating floods came.

The flood of 1862 was neither the first nor the last. It was, however, widely photographed by the photographers of the day.

It is remarkable to observe the equanimity with which local gentry went about their daily lives. There is almost a carnival feeling in some of the photographs. Two contemporary engravings and lithographs have been included so that a comparison can be noted between the reality of the photograph and the "objectivity" of the artist.

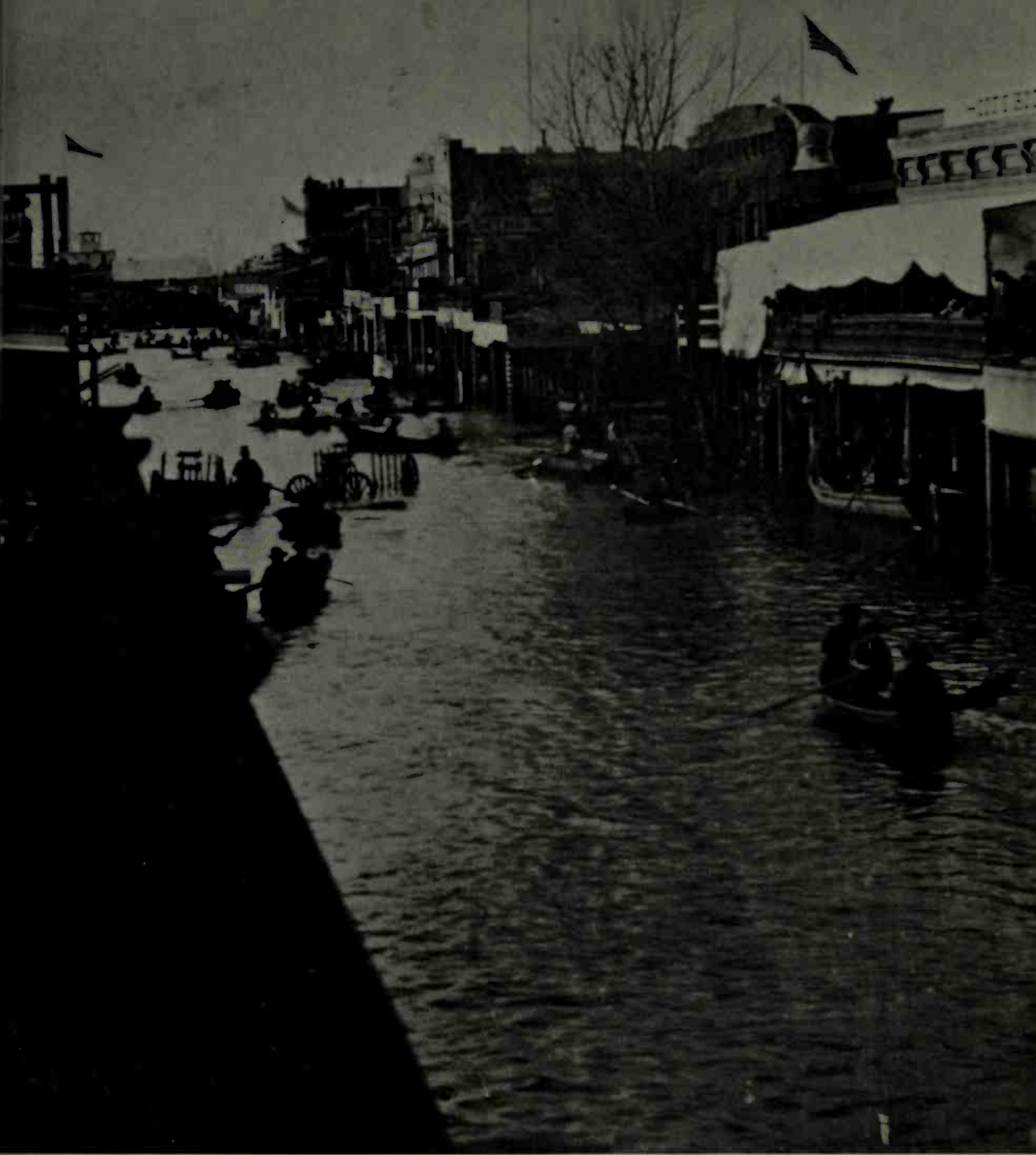
It is a great pleasure to present here, from the California Historical Society Photo collection, these most fascinating views of early Sacramento for *Quarterly* readers.

R. A. W.

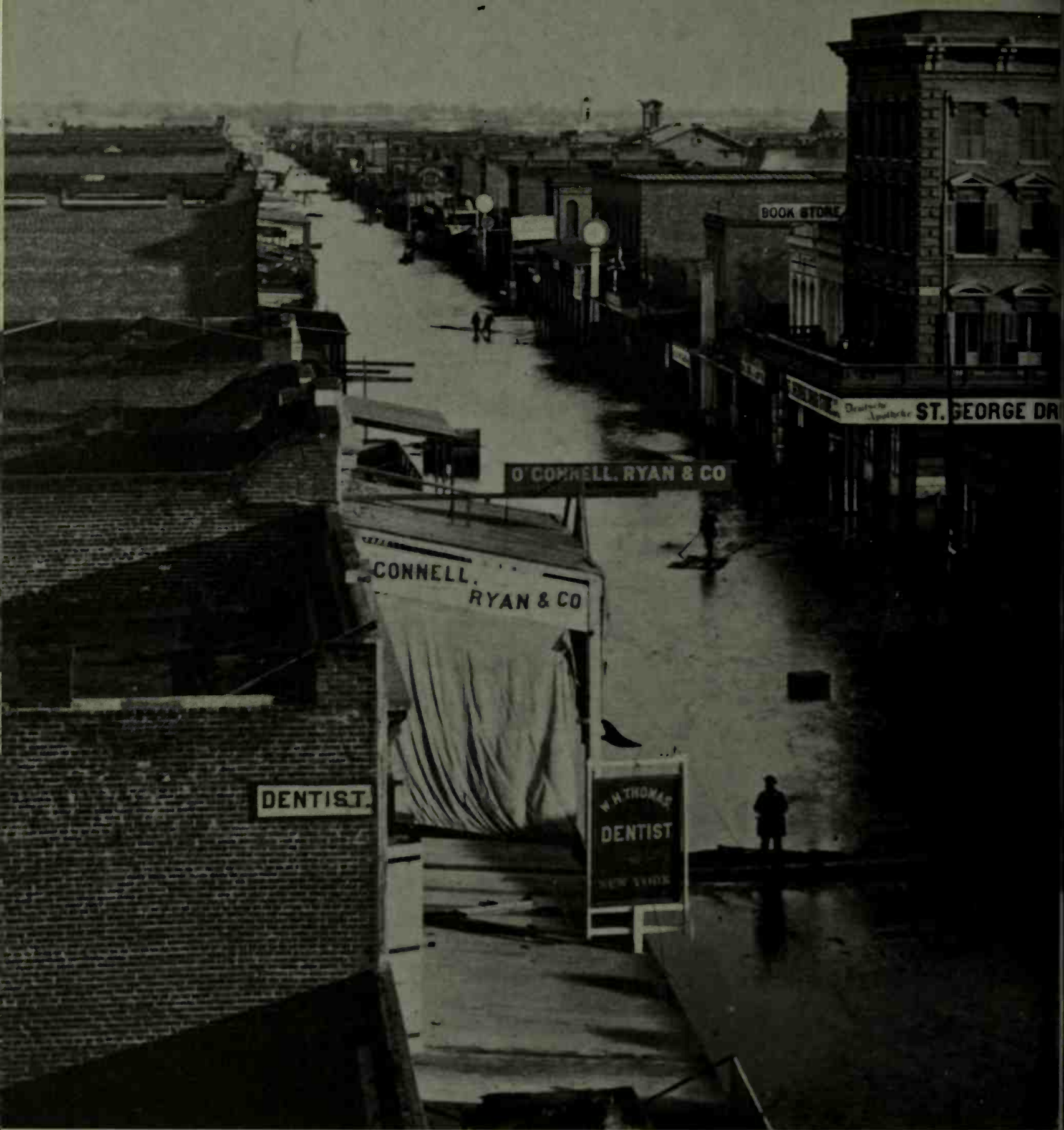


Sacramento City during the Great Flood of 1862 • K Street east from Fourth Street





Sacramento City during the Great Flood of 1862 • K Street west from Fourth Street



Sacramento City during the Great Flood of 1862 • J Street east of Third Street





J Street from the Levee

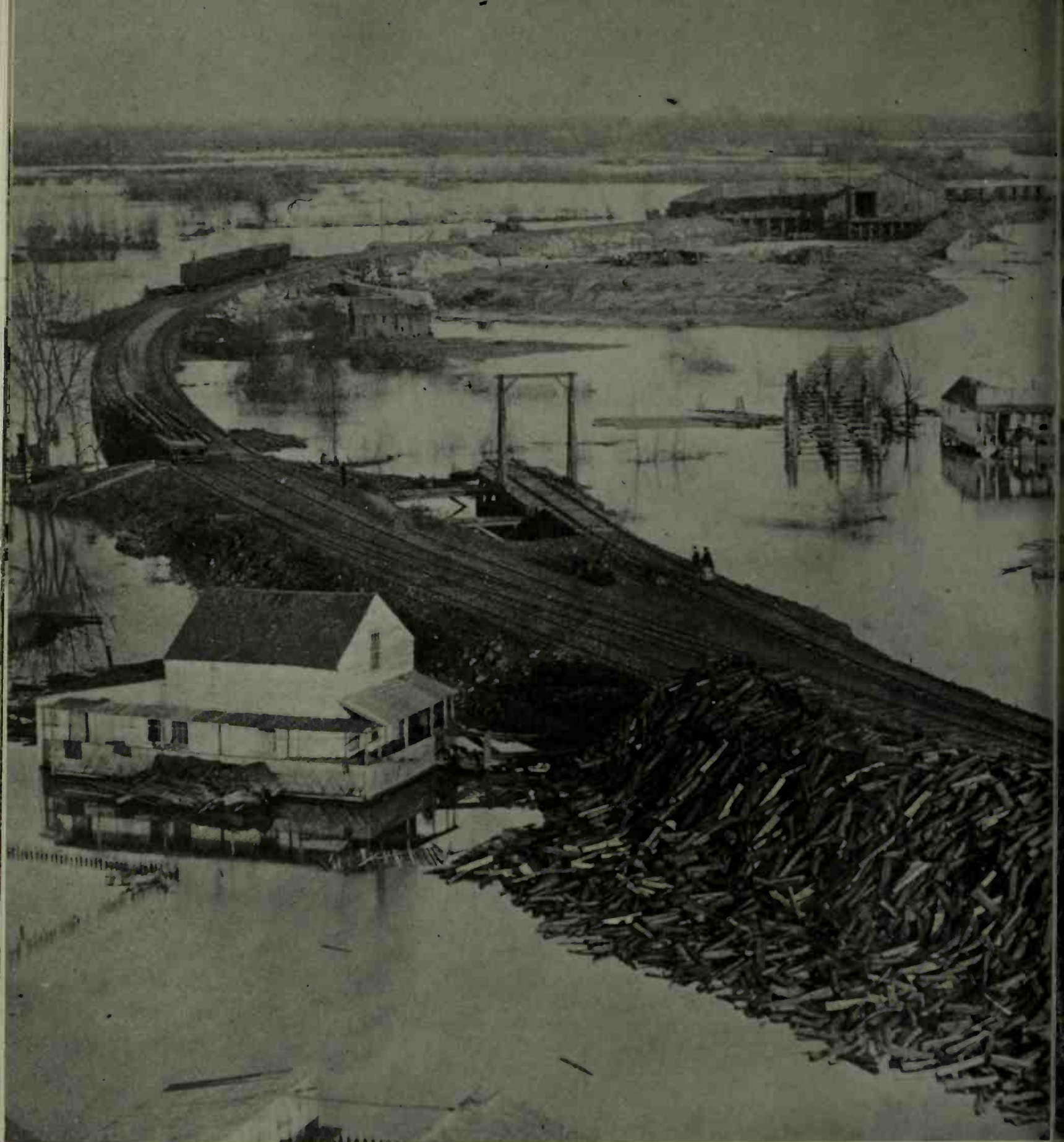


View of J Street, Sacramento during the Flood





Sacramento City during the Great Flood of 1862 • View taken from the R Street Levee, looking north



Sacramento City. Central R.R. Works at China Slough



living daughters, Mary, Jennie Louise, and Amy, gave their shares to their mother.<sup>17</sup>

Mrs. Crocker's benefactions increased steadily after her husband's death. In the early 1880's there was much discussion in the city about building a home for elderly ladies, but nothing definite was ever decided. Mrs. Crocker had offered a site for the home, but it had been abandoned because of poor proportions. She later purchased another site at Seventh and Q streets. Mrs. Crocker then went to Europe and observed similar ladies homes, and, after her return to Sacramento, plans were drawn up for the building. There was a fireplace in each room, and provisions were made for gas and water pipes. Surrounding the building were walks, flowers, shrubbery, and trees. There were twenty-four rooms in the house, all furnished by Mrs. Crocker in current styles.<sup>18</sup> A large supply of books was also added to the home. The rooms were furnished with rich carpetry and other articles from the Crocker mansion. In the parlor of the home hung a life size oil of the benefactress.

The final cost of the establishment, named the Marguerite Home, was about \$50,000.00. In addition, Mrs. Crocker deeded \$60,000.00 in bonds to the trustees of the home to be held in trust and used to keep ladies who could not pay their expenses.

The Marguerite Home was dedicated on February 25, 1885, on the sixtieth birthday anniversary of Mrs. Crocker. Several hundred persons were invited to attend, after which, an enormous luncheon was served.<sup>19</sup>

Mrs. Crocker, as is evident, was well known to the people of Sacramento because her private and public charities and kindnesses were endless. In 1884 a group of citizens, desiring to cultivate a taste for arts and sciences in the community, formed the California Museum Association. Land was purchased on which to build a center. Mrs. Crocker granted the use of her art gallery to raise funds for the construction of the building. Plans were made for an exhibition which was held in the gallery in March, 1885.

The matrons of San Francisco helped their Sacramento counterparts collect items for the exhibition. Articles were obtained from wealthy mansions, from Europe, and from throughout the Orient—items unlike anything ever before seen in California. The exhibit was

regarded as the most attractive and valuable ever brought to California, if not the United States. The value of the articles listed was over \$1,000,000.00.<sup>20</sup>

The exhibition was a tremendous success. It was intended to remain open for one week, but public response was such that it stayed open two weeks. Mrs. Crocker was so pleased that she decided to present the art gallery and its contents to the Museum Association. There was one stipulation—that within a few months the association would obtain \$100,000.00 by subscription and invest the money in real estate, the income to be used for support and upkeep of the gallery. The association accepted the offer. In the meantime, however, members determined that it would be more feasible for the city to accept the property in trust for the association and each year set aside money for care of the building. Mrs. Crocker agreed to this, and the plan was adopted. The gallery was deeded to the city on Saturday, May 2, 1885.<sup>21</sup>

In recognition of this overwhelming generosity, the people of Sacramento decided to give a great floral festival in Mrs. Crocker's honor on May 6, 1885. The period preceding and during the flower festival was like a holiday season in Sacramento. Factories, businesses, and schools were closed. All churches and fraternal societies participated in the event as well as people from other parts of the state. Thousands of floral arrangements were contributed to the festival which opened in the Pavilion of the California State Agricultural Society in Capitol Park.<sup>22</sup> Mrs. Crocker was escorted to the pavilion by a public parade in which hundreds of children dressed in white scattered roses on the streets. The building was a mass of flowers throughout, and in its center was a giant maypole. Mrs. Crocker sat on a platform surrounded by other prominent ladies, as three thousand children passed by, each leaving a bouquet of flowers. That evening a ball was given, and the day was climaxed when the Sacramento Society of California Pioneers presented Mrs. Crocker with four gold plates which represented epics in California history.<sup>23</sup> The *Sacramento Bee* called this event one of the most remarkable expressions of public esteem ever given to a man or woman in this part of the country.

Margaret Crocker, despite her activities, was known in Sacramento



as a "hale and hearty" woman who had known only one serious illness in her lifetime. In her sixties, she still tired out her younger companions in traveling or exercise. Her conversation was pleasant and kind, and her manner simple, straightforward, and cordial.<sup>24</sup> Mrs. Crocker's tastes were simple though elegant. Her personal taste was displayed in the gown of maroon velvet, trimmed with round point and satin fold and in a pompadour corsage which she wore at the Stanford Ball in 1872.<sup>25</sup>

Mrs. Crocker with her "sunshiny and genial" temperament found most enjoyment in helping others. She planned small surprises for her friends and relatives, and, the more they were surprised, the greater was her pleasure. Her surprises were often for her servants. One Sacramento lady, it was said, would not employ anyone who had been with Mrs. Crocker, because they would never be satisfied in a place after leaving her.<sup>26</sup>

Mrs. Crocker's reputation for helping the destitute was so well known that many tried to take advantage of her charity. She believed many a pathetic story and never questioned them. A great deal of her charity went to unworthy things, but that could not be helped. But if she found that a merchant had dishonestly appealed to her because she was Mrs. Crocker, she never patronized him again.

As the fame of her fortune and kindnesses spread, requests for aid multiplied until Margaret had little peace. She received demands from all over the United States, but rarely showed the letters to others, and they were burned. Some noteworthy ones were disclosed, however. One letter came from a sick man who wanted her to send him to the Sandwich Islands for his health; another came from a girl, who not wanting a home with her sister and brother-in-law, asked for money sufficient enough to stock a millinery store. One letter from a thirty-year-old woman in one of the Eastern states declared that Mrs. Crocker's gift to the city of the gallery was not fair, especially when there was a deserving and highly educated young woman—the writer herself—who could be adopted and to whom the gallery could be left. The woman stated that she had an "amiable disposition, pleasant appearance, and would care for Mrs. Crocker as if she were her own mother."<sup>27</sup>

In 1892 there appeared in the *San Francisco Wave* magazine an

article revealing that Mrs. Crocker was leaving California never to return.<sup>28</sup> She planned to rid herself of all financial interests in the state and to invest in Eastern property. The article also alleged that she had intended to give from three to five million dollars to California charities, but now they were to receive nothing. Mrs. Crocker planned to have her will rewritten and her fortune to go entirely to her relatives.

According to the article in the *Wave*, the verdict of a Sacramento jury was what prompted Mrs. Crocker's actions. The jury, in a domestic case involving Mrs. Crocker's daughter, Amy, and her current husband, H. M. Gillig, had rejected testimony given by Mrs. Crocker, as insufficient evidence. Sacramento county court records explain the case as follows:<sup>29</sup> Early in 1891, Amy and her husband filed charges against Amelia Giffney for grand larceny, and had her arrested and detained in jail. Miss Giffney, formerly servant in the Gillig home, was accused of stealing approximately \$5,000.00 in valuables and jewelry from the home. The case was first heard in the police court at which time the mothers of the two plaintiffs were asked to testify. Later, the case was brought before the superior court, but at that time Amy and her husband had taken time out for their "pleasure season" of the year, and were not available to testify in person. Amy, however, had described and identified the lost articles before her departure. This explanation was not enough. The judge ruled that the testimony of the two mothers was sufficient to continue the case. But the testimony of February 17, 1891, given by Mrs. Crocker and Mrs. Gillig, was declared as insufficient by a Sacramento jury, and Amelia was acquitted.<sup>30</sup>

Apparently, the decision greatly affected Mrs. Crocker, because as a result she packed her bags, transferred her investments in California, disinherited several charities, and departed to her sister's home in Los Angeles and then for the East.

On November 15, 1892, Amelia filed a cross complaint against the Gilligs, charging false arrest. The Gilligs chose to pay her an indemnity outside of court. The case has remained in the pending file at the Sacramento County Clerk's office in the old County Court House.<sup>31</sup>

During the twenty years between her husband's death and her departure from Sacramento, Mrs. Crocker spent many years away



from Sacramento. Her sister lived in Los Angeles where Mrs. Crocker built a house and hotel. She also visited with Amy and her first husband, J. Porter Ashe, in the San Francisco home she gave them. Mrs. Crocker also deeded houses to several relatives, which they had started to buy. Some people received monthly allowances to improve poor financial conditions. One nephew received the house and hotel in Los Angeles.<sup>32</sup> Mrs. Crocker during this period also built a summer residence, Idlewild, at Lake Tahoe, and she had a constant stream of guests coming and going. Here, she enjoyed hiking and fishing and abandoned all cares in the woods.

When she moved to New York, Mrs. Crocker purchased a residence on East 49th Street, near her daughter Amy's house. It was while living in New York that Mrs. Crocker became seriously ill. Margaret Crocker died in early December, 1901, at her daughter's residence.<sup>33</sup> Her wish was to be cremated in Buffalo, New York, and interred near her husband in the Sacramento City Cemetery. Mrs. Crocker's daughter, Mrs. J. Sloat Fassett, along with other members of the family, accompanied the railroad car bearing the ashes to their final resting place in California.

When the citizens of Sacramento heard the tragic news of Margaret Crocker's death, they arranged for memorial services to be held in the art gallery when the ashes reached Sacramento. Mayor George H. Clark ordered all business establishments closed at noon on the day of arrival and church bells to be tolled.<sup>34</sup> Flags on all public buildings in the city were flown at half-mast.<sup>35</sup> The train which bore the mourners and the ashes-casket reached Sacramento about eleven-thirty in the morning of January 31, 1902. The services were scheduled for one-thirty that afternoon at which time the doors of the gallery were closed and no latecomers admitted.<sup>36</sup>

In 1946 Mrs. Mary B. Lindley Briggs, an intimate of the Crocker family, reminisced about the years after Mr. Crocker's death. Mrs. Briggs related when Mrs. Crocker came to town, her friends and neighbors came to visit. She stood on her porch, hands outstretched, and greeted them. Mrs. Briggs continued:

She was a fine looking woman, I never saw her without a kindly smile. She always dressed simply, but gorgeously. There was nothing ornate about her

except her carriage and horses. . . . People came running when they heard the jingle of the harness.<sup>37</sup>

Contrary to the article in the *San Francisco Wave*, Mrs. Crocker's gifts to the life of Sacramento did not end when she left the city. Approximately twenty months before her death she gave her beloved mansion to the society for unwed mothers. The home was annexed to the gallery by the city in 1921. Mrs. Crocker's greatest gifts to humanity were private gifts, most of which will never be known. It is not surprising she came to be known as "Lady Bountiful."<sup>38</sup>

It was in Sacramento that Judge and Mrs. Crocker made their fortune, built their mansion and art gallery, and decided to live. Unlike so many others they did not forget the city which gave them their start. Mrs. Crocker contributed generously, her gifts including land for a children's playground, a parcel of land for the city cemetery, a home for elderly ladies as well as one for unwed mothers, and her beloved art gallery. It is no wonder that Margaret Crocker has been considered with Jane Elizabeth Stanford and Phoebe Apperson Hearst, as one of the greatest women of California.

#### NOTES

1. *Sacramento Bee*, May 6, 1885, p. 1. Much of the material in the first six pages of this paper was obtained from this source. This source, above any other, was conclusive as to the early history of Mrs. Crocker and her first year with her husband in Sacramento. After this, the *Sacramento Bee* will be referred to as the *Bee*.

2. *Bee*, May 6, 1885, p. 1.

3. *E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, Handbook* (Sacramento: News Publishing Company, 1937), p. 9. The *Handbook* states that Margaret had been a friend of the first Mrs. Crocker, Mary Norton, and had cared for her during her last illness.

4. *Crocker Art Gallery, History and Collections*, p. 1.

5. Donald Clyde Ball, "History of the Crocker Art Gallery and its Founders" (masters thesis, College of the Pacific, 1955), p. 12.

6. *Sacramento Daily Record Union*, June 25, 1875, p. 3. Hereinafter referred to as the *Union*.

7. *Bay of San Francisco* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1892), II.

8. *Bee*, March 7, 1891, p. 1.



9. *Handbook*, 1937, p. 10
10. *Handbook*, "Crocker's Collection," Art Digest, XI, (August 1937), 15.
11. *Sacramento Daily Record*, September 21, 1872, p. 3.
12. *Union*, May 9, 1885, p. 3.
13. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Sacramento County* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1890), p. 147.
14. *Bee*, March 5, 1875, p. 3.
15. Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
16. *Union*, June 25, 1875, p. 3.
17. Judge and Mrs. Crocker had seven children. Mary, by Judge Crocker's previous marriage, and a nephew, Ellwood Bender, adopted before the judge's death, were included. Mary married the Honorable Myron T. Walker, state senator from Massachusetts. Katie became Mrs. J. O. B. Gunn. She died soon after her marriage, at the age of twenty. Edwin Clark, the Crockers' only son, died in infancy. A popular lady in Sacramento was Nellie who died at the age of twenty-two. Jennie Louise became the wife of Honorable J. Sloat Fassett, state senator from Elmira, New York. Amy Isabel, the youngest, became Mrs. R. Porter Ashe of San Francisco. Amy, the most colorful figure of all, was destined to have five marriages.
18. *Union*, April 28, 1883, p. 5.
19. *Union*, February 26, 1884, p. 2.
20. *Union*, December 2, 1901, p. 8.
21. *Bee*, May 6, 1885, p. 2.
22. Located on the west side of 15th Street opposite M.
23. Program of *The Festival of Flowers, Given in Honor of Margaret E. Crocker, By the Citizens of Sacramento, California*, May 6, 1885 (between pages 40 and 41).
24. *Bee*, May 6, 1885, p. 1.
25. *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 7, 1872, p. 1.
26. *Bee*, May 6, 1885, p. 1.
27. *Loc. cit.*
28. *San Francisco Wave* (January 23, 1892), p. 2.
29. *The People vs. Amelia Gebring* (February 18, 1891), Criminal File No. 958.
30. The transcripts appear to be lost.
31. *Amelia Gebring vs. H. M. Gillig & Amy C. Gillig* (December 4, 1891), Judgement No. 3614.
32. *Union*, January 31, 1902, p. 8.
33. *Union*, December 2, 1901, p. 8.

34. *Union*, January 30, 1902, p. 3.
35. *Union*, January 28, 1902, p. 4.
36. Details of the memorial service to be found in the *Union*, January 31, 1902, p. 8.
37. *San Francisco Call*, December 15, 1901, p. 3.
38. *Handbook*, p. 9.



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# The Era of the Lemon: A History of Santa Paula, California

By MICHAEL R. BELKNAP

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LETTERS FROM THE elementary schools in Santa Paula, California, once came typed across a huge yellow lemon, which the district had ordered printed on all stationery. It would indeed be fitting if one could write the history of Santa Paula on that lemon-imprinted paper. For nothing has so affected the development of this little Ventura County community as that yellow citrus fruit. The history of Santa Paula—economic, political, and social—is a story which can only be told in terms of the rise and fall of the lemon industry. It was the expansion of citrus farming, together with the failure of competing forms of economic activity, which determined that Santa Paula should grow at a rate slower than that of any other town in the country.<sup>1</sup> It was the families who owed their wealth to citrus farming who came to dominate the community both politically and socially. And, it is the decline of the citrus industry which promises today a radical change in the future of Santa Paula.

The history of the town and of its citrus industry began with the arrival in the Santa Clara Valley<sup>2</sup> of Nathan W. Blanchard. In 1840 the Mexican government had granted 30,000 acres in the lower part of the valley, originally inhabited by the Mupu Indians, to Don Pablo de la Guerra. This rancho, which de la Guerra called the Santa Paula y Saticoy, later passed into the hands of a man named Jimeno, who sold it to Thomas W. More and his brothers. In 1862 More sold four leagues of

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his purchase to George Briggs. Three years later Blanchard, a native of Maine who had been engaged in mining and other activities in the Northern California gold camp of Dutch Flat, came south to visit Briggs.<sup>3</sup> Apparently he was greatly impressed with what he saw, for in 1872 he was back, ready to buy a piece of the Santa Clara Valley for himself.

There is a considerable amount of disagreement regarding the details of Blanchard's purchase and of his founding of the town of Santa Paula.<sup>4</sup> Apparently, however, Blanchard joined with E. B. Higgins in buying 2,700 acres from Briggs. Blanchard then bought out Higgins and sold his share to E. L. Bradley, who had been his business partner in Dutch Flat. In November, 1873, Blanchard and Bradley laid out a town site at the place where Santa Paula Creek emptied into the river; on June 16, 1875, the new town of Santa Paula was officially recorded at the county courthouse in San Buenaventura.

Eager for income, the two partners quickly plunged into a variety of enterprises. First they took up sheep ranching. Somewhat later, in 1873, they planted alfalfa, the first seen in California.<sup>5</sup> Along with the land Blanchard and Higgins had purchased the rights to the flow of Santa Paula Creek. Capitalizing on this fact, Nathan and his new partner opened a flour mill to grind the corn, wheat, and barley raised in the area. They had no competitors between San Luis Obispo and Los Angeles,<sup>6</sup> and soon their brand, "Middlings Purified," was a favorite in local markets.

In their continuing quest for profitable ways to utilize their land, the founders of Santa Paula came at last to citrus growing. In 1874 Blanchard, taking what was probably the most momentous step in the history of the town, arranged with a Santa Barbara nurseryman named Clark to

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Citrus Groves, Santa Paula  
*Courtesy History Division*  
*Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History*

Santa Paula Union High School  
*Courtesy History Division*  
*Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History*

Santa Paula, 1905  
*Courtesy History Division*  
*Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History*

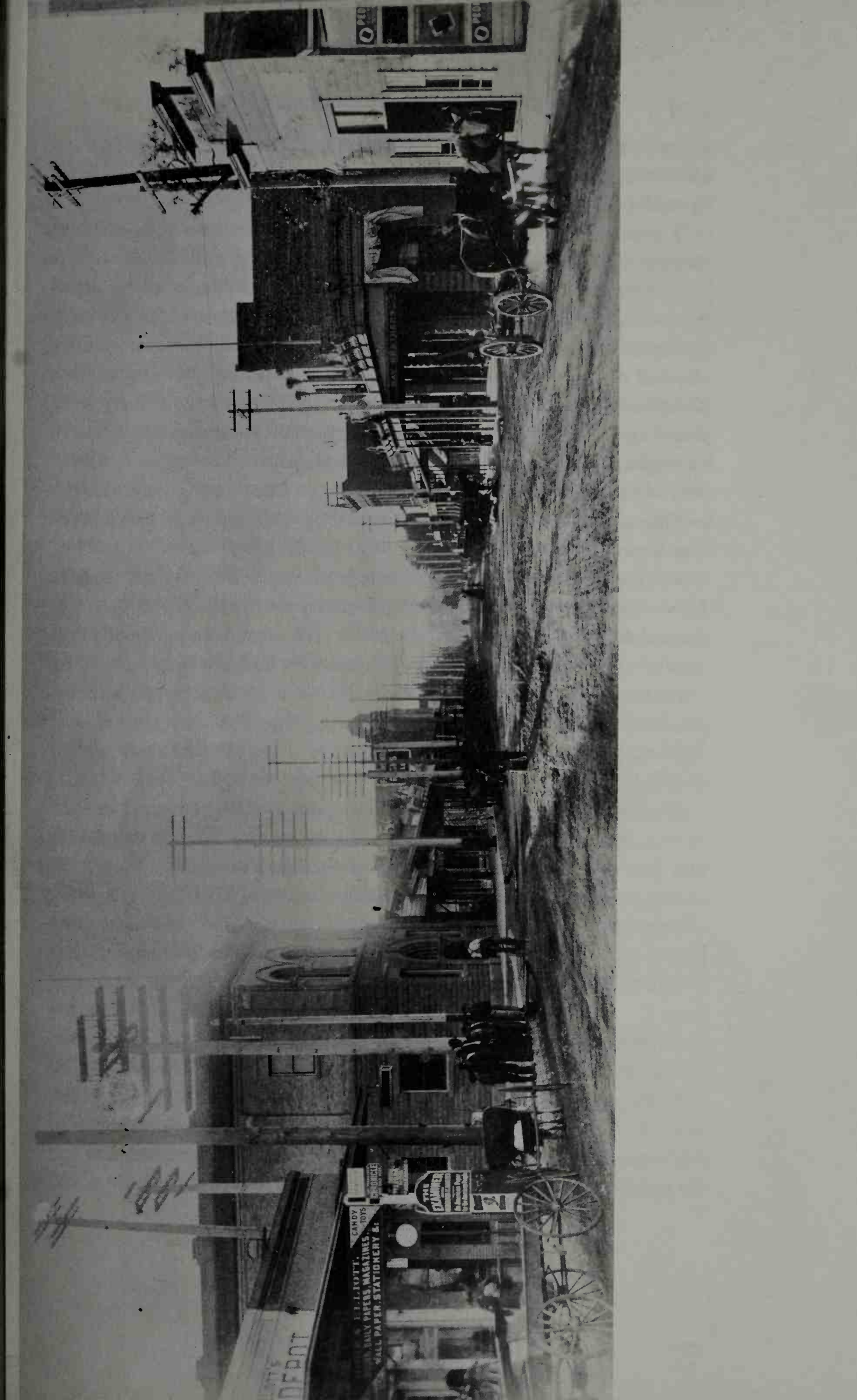












plant 100 acres to oranges. In 1878 Blanchard budded the seedlings on eleven of these acres to lemons. A few years later he grafted an additional twenty-five acres to this fruit.

These lemon trees grew slowly, and so did the little village whose destiny they were to control. When Blanchard and Bradley took possession of their tract it contained one building, a saloon run by a man named Billy Gordon. As late as June, 1875, this was still the only structure in town. Several lots had already been sold, however, and by the end of the year Santa Paula had another saloon, two stores, two hotels, and a post office.<sup>7</sup> Its population by 1876 seems to have been about 150.<sup>8</sup> The dry winter of 1877-1878 severely checked the growth of the little hamlet, and by 1882 it still had only twenty-eight families.<sup>9</sup> When Charles Collins Teague, who was to become the community's leading citizen, arrived on the scene in 1893 he found that "Santa Paula was a sorry little town."<sup>10</sup>

In 1880 E. L. Bradley died in San Jose, the victim of a cat scratch. His involvement in the Santa Paula enterprise had been, at least for some time, mainly financial. Colonel W. J. Sanborn, an early day resident of the area, testifies that while he knew Blanchard quite well he never met his partner,<sup>11</sup> and when Bradley bought some property from the Santa Anna Water Company in 1879 he identified himself as a resident of Santa Clara County.<sup>12</sup> Shortly after his death his widow decided to dissolve the partnership.

Bradley and Blanchard had originally been equal partners, but the latter had borrowed heavily from the former. When Mrs. Bradley took him into court to settle the division of the firm's assets, Blanchard was nearly wiped out. He was left with only one-sixth of the property which the two men had held in common. In fact, about the only thing he was able to hang onto was the citrus orchard, and it seemed to be a rather worthless piece of salvage, since none of the trees had ever borne fruit.

This seemingly worthless orchard, however, was to be the foundation of Blanchard's personal fortune and of Santa Paula's economy. In 1888 the citrus trees finally showed a profit.<sup>13</sup> It was the first of many money-making years for their owner, and, as the local chamber of commerce points out, "This success gave heart to other ranchers and encouraged citrus planting."<sup>14</sup>



However, in 1889 it was by no means obvious that citrus would come to dominate the Santa Paula economy, for, at the time, it appeared that the town was destined to become the center of California's infant oil industry. Petroleum had been discovered in the Santa Paula area in 1867 when A. J. Salsbury brought in a well on the Sulphur Mountain anticline. Blanchard and Bradley, during the 1870's, collected a heavy oil from springs in the hills and sold it as a lubricant to San Francisco street car operators. By 1875 Santa Paula was considered the hub of the Ventura County petroleum industry.<sup>15</sup>

Two of the town's most successful early oil men were Wallace L. Hardison and Lyman Stewart. After making a fair profit in Pennsylvania's Bedford oil boom, Hardison and Stewart had become depressed by the cut-throat Eastern competition and sold their interests.<sup>16</sup> In 1883 Stewart, who had traveled to California, became excited by the oil prospects there, leased a site on Christian Hill, and wrote asking his old partner to join him. The Christian Hill venture proved unprofitable, but in the next three years the partners struck oil in paying quantities in Saltmarsh and Adams canyons near Santa Paula, and at three sites above Fillmore. In 1886 they set up headquarters in a one story frame building in Santa Paula, and the following year opened a refinery there. By 1889 they were pumping 700 barrels of crude oil a day, and refining 10,000 barrels a month.<sup>17</sup>

In the fall of 1890 Hardison, Stewart, and Thomas Bard, a wealthy Ventura County resident with whom they had become associated, decided to consolidate their various oil enterprises. On October 17 they merged the Hardison and Stewart Oil Company, the Torey Oil Company, the Sespe Oil Company, and the Mission Transfer Company to form Union Oil of California. By 1892 this company was producing in excess of 100,000 barrels a year, more than one-third of the state's total annual output, and its refining operation was the biggest on the Pacific coast.<sup>18</sup>

Santa Paula was by this time the recognized center of the California oil industry.<sup>19</sup> It had not only a refinery, but also a machine shop for manufacturing drilling equipment and a chemical laboratory for developing by-products. The Southern Pacific Railroad had built its main line down the Santa Clara Valley following the discovery of the Wild Bill gusher, brought in by the Hardison and Stewart Company in

Adams Canyon. Santa Paula was also the starting point for a pipe line which carried oil to the port at San Buenaventura.<sup>20</sup>

However promising the petroleum industry seemed, it was to be agriculture, not oil, which emerged from the nineteenth century as Santa Paula's leading industry. Petroleum strikes were being made throughout Southern California, and many Santa Paula oil men, concluding that the future of the industry lay elsewhere, packed their bags and moved to the new fields.

W. L. Hardison himself began to lose interest in oil.<sup>21</sup> Blanchard by now was making a comfortable income from his orchard, and Hardison became increasingly fascinated with citrus ranching. In 1893 he and Blanchard organized the Limoneira Company and bought 400 acres west of town on which they planted lemons. At about the same time Hardison wrote to his grandnephew, Charles Collins Teague, urging that he and his father move to Santa Paula. When the Teagues arrived, they found the pioneer oil man fairly bursting with enthusiasm for the lemon business.<sup>22</sup> Hardison soon persuaded them to join him in purchasing forty acres and planting them to lemons. The elder Teague soon died, but Charles, who had been studying the citrus business under Blanchard, continued to operate the little ranch, which was to become famous as the Teague Forty, one of the most productive lemon orchards in the world.

While Hardison was involving himself more and more with his citrus interests, the Union Oil refinery was becoming increasingly inadequate for the company's needs. Since a new plant would obviously have to be built in the next few years, Stewart proposed that the firm leave Santa Paula and set up its refining operations nearer a major market. Bard opposed him, but Stewart won out in a board fight. The company purchased land on San Francisco Bay and erected its Oleum refinery. Due to mismanagement, the plant lost money, somewhat discrediting Stewart's idea. Unfortunately for Santa Paula, however, on June 29, 1896, the old plant burned to the ground, leaving Oleum as Union's only refinery. Although the company maintained a small distilling operation in Santa Paula until 1938, it never rebuilt the burned facility. Petroleum was to remain an important factor in the economy of Santa Paula, but after 1896 it would never again play more than a supporting role to agriculture.



Actually, even when the boom was at its height, the ranchers, not the oil men, controlled the destiny of Santa Paula. For between 1880 and 1900, although the petroleum interests were economically important in the community, it was the farmers who owned almost all the land. The control over the town's development which this land ownership vested in the ranchers was clearly demonstrated during the famed Southern California real estate boom of the late 1880's. Glenn Dumke notes the paradoxical fact that, while Santa Paula during these years was one of the most prosperous settlements in the county, unlike many of its neighbors it was not a boom town.<sup>23</sup> The explanation for this paradox lies in the fact that only the farmers could have put real estate on the market, and they had no desire to sell their land. Had land in the area been for sale, there is little doubt that buyers could have been found. For one individual who visited Santa Paula at the time declared ecstatically, "This entire valley of the Santa Clara River is a favored spot of California—the soil, sunshine, and salubrity cannot be exceeded on the face of the earth."<sup>24</sup> In 1889, however, Blanchard cleared \$20,000 from his citrus orchards,<sup>25</sup> and the same vision of profits which led Wallace Hardison to turn from oil to ranching made those who were already in farming extremely unwilling to sell out to speculators and real estate developers. The oil men would have welcomed a population boom. It was the lack of an adequate local market which ultimately convinced Lyman Stewart that Union must move its operations elsewhere. But the oil men did not own the land. The Southern Pacific Railroad, which did so much to touch off booms in other areas, arrived in Santa Paula in 1887, but it had no incentive to promote settlement there, for its entire right-of-way lay across Nathan Blanchard's land. He had deeded a narrow strip to the road in return for a spur line over which to ship his fruit.

What little development there was in the Santa Paula area during the boom years took place almost entirely inside the city and was almost entirely the work of one man, Charles H. McKeveatt. McKeveatt, a native of New York, arrived in Santa Paula in January, 1886, and promptly purchased 442 acres from Blanchard. About 300 of these acres he earmarked for agriculture, but the rest he decided to subdivide.<sup>26</sup> In 1887 he organized a lumber company and a year later he opened Santa Paula's first bank. In 1890 he began to lay out lots north

of the railroad tracks. On these lots grew up what was to be, for many years, the principal residential section of the town.

After Union Oil departed only one other challenger emerged to dispute the predominance of agriculture. Some time around 1910 Gaston Melies and his Star Film Stock Company set up headquarters in Santa Paula. Melies bought a piece of land for \$6,000 and erected \$12,000 worth of buildings on it. By 1913 he and his company had produced twelve films, the best known of which was "The Ghost of Sulphur Mountain." On August 22 of that year Melies sold out to the St. Louis Motion Picture Company of Albuquerque, New Mexico, which subsequently moved its operations to Santa Paula. The St. Louis Company used a number of local citizens in its pictures, the first of which was "The Frontier."

The fate of the St. Louis Company is not recorded, but that of another movie firm which arrived in town shortly after it offers a clue. The Photoplay Company, with which Jack Warner was connected, erected a number of buildings and announced its intention to hire fifty local residents. Before it even began shooting, however, it loaded up all of its equipment and left to join the growing movie colony in Hollywood.<sup>27</sup>

During the period when Santa Paula was engaged in its brief flirtation with the motion picture business, the power of certain big ranchers in the area was steadily increasing. In 1898 Nathan Blanchard decided to retire, and at Wallace Hardison's suggestion young Charles Teague was appointed to succeed him as manager of Limoneira. Teague proved so successful that by 1904 he had received lucrative offers to manage a number of other citrus ranches. In order to avoid losing him, Blanchard and the other Limoneira owners decided to sell him a one-tenth interest in the company.<sup>28</sup>

Not long after becoming a stockholder, Teague embarked on an expansion program. In 1906 he secured an option on the huge Oliveland Ranch, which adjoined Limoneira, and floated a \$500,000 bond issue to secure the money needed for the purchase. Oliveland had been devoted primarily to the cultivation of walnuts, but Teague began almost immediately to tear out the walnut trees and to replace them with lemons and Valencia oranges. In March, 1918, the Santa Paula



*Chronicle* reported that Limoneira was the largest acreage in the world devoted to lemon growing.<sup>29</sup> Teague was not yet satisfied, however, and in 1922 he purchased an additional 550 acres. Limoneira at this point had 1,850 acres under cultivation, approximately 1,835 more than the average California citrus ranch.<sup>30</sup>

However, Limoneira was not the only large citrus property in which Teague had an interest. His wife, Harriet McKeveit, was the daughter of the real estate developer. In 1905 Teague joined forces with her family and purchased 200 acres one mile east of town. Between 1906 and 1912 they planted lemons on 193 acres of this property, which came to be known as the Teague-McKeveit Ranch.

The Hardison Ranch Company, which was organized in 1911, was somewhat larger than the Teague-McKeveit Ranch. Originally it owned only about 170 acres, but in 1929 the firm purchased an additional seventy acres.

The Hardison Ranch Company and the Teague-McKeveit Company interlocked with each other and with the Nathan W. Blanchard Investment Company, holder of the original Blanchard orchard, through Limoneira. In 1933 Teague was president of both Teague-McKeveit and Limoneira, and C. P. Foster, the secretary of the former corporation was also secretary-treasurer of the latter. A. C. Hardison acted as vice-president of both his family's ranch and Limoneira, and Guy L. Hardison also sat on the Limoneira board of directors. Nathan W. Blanchard III, president of the Nathan W. Blanchard Investment Company, and his aunt Sarah were also members of the Limoneira board.

The power of the Teagues, Blanchards, and Hardisons<sup>31</sup> increased not only because of the expansion of their holdings and the interlocking directorate which bound them together, but also because of the growth of the co-operative movement in agriculture. No man was more responsible for the success of this movement than C. C. Teague. In 1905 he helped to set up the executive committee of the Southern California Walnut Association, and two years later he was elected to a four year term as its president. He was also one of the pioneer members of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, the citrus marketing co-operative which made Sunkist a household word. Elected to its board of directors

in 1911, he became its president in 1920 and held that post until his retirement in 1947. Also, in 1916 he and two other men founded the California Lima Bean Association.

There can be little doubt that Teague sincerely believed in the principle of co-operation in agriculture. Under his leadership Limonera voluntarily surrendered its lucrative special order business in order to strengthen the California Fruit Growers' Exchange.<sup>32</sup> At the same time, however, it cannot be denied that the co-operatives which he founded greatly enhanced the power of big ranchers such as himself. Under the laws of California, co-operatives could be organized as non-capital stock, nonprofit corporations. In these corporations the number of votes which each member had was proportionate to the number of bearing acres controlled. Since the law allowed each organization to establish its own membership policies, the big growers not only could elect the directors, but also could control who got into the co-operatives and on what terms.<sup>33</sup> Teague, for example, was able to launch Rancho La Questa during the depression years of the 1930's when market conditions were bad and he himself was actively working to prevent the entrance of new ranchers into the citrus industry.<sup>34</sup> Not surprisingly, he states in his autobiography, "Most of the men with whom I have worked through the years in the erection of marketing co-operatives have been owners of fairly large farms and orchards. . . ."<sup>35</sup>

Thus, during the early decades of the twentieth century the economic power of certain big ranchers in the Santa Paula area—particularly the Teagues, Blanchards, and Hardisons—was vastly increased. Domination of the local economy by these big ranchers had the effect of stabilizing the population of Santa Paula. For the large citrus ranches were relatively consistent in their demands for labor.

Santa Paula enjoyed only one real population boom prior to World War II. Between 1910 and 1930 it grew from 2,216 residents to 7,452, a rate of increase 75 per cent higher than that for the state as a whole.<sup>36</sup> In 1927 the California Taxpayers' Association predicted that in ten years the population would be 11,900.<sup>37</sup> As late as 1950, however, there were still fewer people than this residing in the town.<sup>38</sup> The reason is simple. The boom was due to the opening in 1916 of a new oil field on South Mountain across the river from Santa Paula. A whole host of operators, including some of the leading oil firms in the state, poured



into the field, and production increased from 5,513 barrels in 1916 to 1,314,954 in 1926.<sup>39</sup> The California Taxpayers' Association accurately assessed the effect of oil on the town's population during these years when it stated, "Like any industry it brings an influx of people to build up the requirements of the new personnel."<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, as with any oil field, production in the South Mountain area eventually leveled out, and when it did, so did Santa Paula's growth curve. After 1923 the population of the town increased at a decreasing rate, and between 1926 and 1930 the total gain was only 372.<sup>41</sup>

Except for the influx resulting from the South Mountain oil rush, Santa Paula's population tended to remain relatively constant regardless of economic conditions. As local real estate man George Caldwell says, "Citrus is a very stable industry. In my opinion it is not affected by good or bad times. It just keeps going along."<sup>42</sup> During the depression of the 1930's 500 to 600 houses were standing vacant in the neighboring city of Ventura,<sup>43</sup> but farm income held relatively stable and so did Santa Paula's population.<sup>44</sup> Municipal and school district employees both took pay cuts,<sup>45</sup> but unemployment remained low.<sup>46</sup> It is hardly surprising that an industrial depression had little impact on a town whose only industrial concerns, aside from a brickyard, a concrete products plant, and two small oil refineries, were seven fruit-packing houses.

Though the domination of the local economy by a few big ranchers and the absence of industry saved Santa Paula from the horrors of the Great Depression, these factors were the cause of an increasing dissatisfaction among the merchants of the town. Even as late as 1962 the community's per capita retail sales were well below the state average.<sup>47</sup> The growers did almost all of their buying through the citrus co-operatives. This enabled them to go outside the local market when prices were better elsewhere—purchasing through agencies such as the Fruit Growers' Supply Company, an instrumentality of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange. It also enabled them to use their collective power to force down prices in Santa Paula.<sup>48</sup> In addition, the lemon farmers required their workers to buy through company stores. Workers' bills were deducted from their wages, and failure to make an adequate number of purchases from the ranch store could result in the loss of a job.<sup>49</sup>

Since the merchants could do little business with either farmers or farm workers, they naturally came to hope that industrial concerns might locate in Santa Paula. The advent of industry would produce an expansion in the nonfarm population, and hence an increase in the number of their customers. No industry, however, came to Santa Paula. For this the merchants blamed the ranchers.<sup>50</sup>

It is not surprising that they should have done so, for the farmers were certainly in a position to keep out industry. The citrus interests controlled the local banks. After the death of his father-in-law, Charles McKeveatt, in 1907, C. C. Teague took over as president of the First National Bank of Santa Paula, and by 1921 he was also president of the Santa Paula Savings Bank, the only other lending institution in town. A. C. Hardison and Nathan W. Blanchard, Jr., both sat on the board of directors of the First National Bank, and the latter was also a director of the Savings Bank. The farmers also controlled the town's water resources. The community was supplied by the Santa Paula Water Works, Ltd., a firm whose rights to the flow of Santa Paula Creek—derived from the original grant to Blanchard and Bradley—had been upheld by the California Supreme Court in 1896.<sup>51</sup> Ninety per cent of the stock in the Santa Paula Water Works was owned by the Thermal Belt Water Company, a corporation organized in 1893 by the founders of Limoneira to supply the water needs of their ranch.<sup>52</sup> Finally, the farmers dominated both the chamber of commerce and the city council. They were able to participate as members of both bodies, because the big citrus ranches maintained offices in town. Indeed, the board of trade, a predecessor of the chamber, held its meetings in the Limoneira office, and its president was C. C. Teague. That agricultural interests should predominate in an organization normally devoted to the promotion of manufacturing and commerce was bound to make the merchants suspicious, and many of them were convinced that ranchers on the city council were working to keep industry out of Santa Paula.<sup>53</sup>

The ranchers were motivated, these businessmen assumed, by a desire to keep down farm wages. The big citrus companies, they believed, feared industry because manufacturing plants would enter the local labor market and bid up the price of workers.<sup>54</sup> The citrus growers had given the merchants good cause to suspect them, for throughout the history of Santa Paula they had consistently and successfully worked



to keep agricultural wages low. Time after time they had imported cheap foreign workers. As Carey McWilliams points out, it was the employment of Chinese during the 1870's and 1880's which made possible the launching of the California fruit industry.<sup>55</sup> That Chinese workers were used in Santa Paula is attested to by Sarah Blanchard.<sup>56</sup> Later, Japanese were imported, and by 1908 Limoneira alone was employing about one hundred of these. Between 1914 and 1919, 5,000 Mexicans came north to work in the California citrus industry, and many of them found their way to Santa Paula. The migration continued during the 1920's, and Mexicans ultimately came to predominate in the local orchards.<sup>57</sup>

Using these Mexicans, the big citrus growers of Santa Paula set up a sort of semifeudal system. They gave their workers paternalistic care, but at the same time, whether intentionally or not, established them as a low paid fruit-picking caste. The ranchers provided the Mexicans with housing at extremely reasonable rates.<sup>58</sup> A Limoneira worker, for example, could rent a family-sized unit, with the utilities paid, for seven to ten dollars per month.<sup>59</sup> The local high school, under the leadership of board president Donald Teague, provided Americanization classes for Mexican adults at a cost of \$240.15 annually per student in average daily attendance.<sup>60</sup> The elementary district provided Mexican children with separate schools so that they would not be denied an education because of their inability to speak English.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, however, the citrus ranchers and their co-operative organization, the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, offered no ladder of advancement to their pickers and packing house employees.<sup>62</sup> In addition, they kept wages so low that their workers were unlikely to be able to afford the education needed for advancement outside the citrus industry. In 1941 pickers were theoretically paid thirty cents an hour, but actually received a good deal less. One man, for example, earned \$11.59 for two weeks work, and after deductions took home only eighteen cents.<sup>63</sup>

In 1941 the American Federation of Labor moved into Santa Paula and sought to organize the pickers. The growers resisted, and 6,000 Mexicans walked off the job.<sup>64</sup> Led by C. C. Teague, the ranchers set out to break the strike. When the United States Department of Labor proposed arbitration, the growers refused.<sup>65</sup> They hired junior college students and advertised in the Dust Bowl for migrants to come to

California. Finally, the strike collapsed, and the pickers went back to work at the old low wages.<sup>66</sup> "I am not opposed to organized labor," said C. C. Teague, "but I am unalterably opposed to exploitation of workers by irresponsible labor leaders."<sup>67</sup>

With these consistent efforts by ranchers to suppress farm wages clearly before their eyes, Santa Paula merchants had considerable reason for concluding that it was the citrus men who were keeping manufacturing out of Santa Paula. However, they were wrong. Deliberate rancher opposition was not the primary reason for Santa Paula's failure to attract industry. Manufacturers were not being kept out. There was simply no reason for them to come.<sup>68</sup>

For this fact the citrus industry, in an indirect way, was partly responsible. Because citrus employed relatively few people, the population of the town was small, and there was not much of a market there.<sup>69</sup> It was for this reason that the Texaco Oil Company closed its Santa Paula refinery and Union Oil shut down the last remnants of its local operation.<sup>70</sup> Also, the men and women who worked in citrus were completely unskilled. Therefore, although they would have been available for very low wages, they were not particularly attractive to manufacturers.<sup>71</sup>

Two other factors helped to make Santa Paula unattractive to industry. In the opinion of local historian Charles Outland, himself a rancher, the primary reason for the town's failure to attract manufacturing was the fact that, after the completion of the Chatsworth Tunnel in 1904, the Southern Pacific main line bypassed Santa Paula, leaving it without adequate transportation to service industrial development. Also, with the exception of oil, the area possessed no important raw materials.<sup>72</sup>

As a result of these factors, Santa Paula failed to attract industry, and, much to the displeasure of the merchants, citrus continued to dominate the local economy. From the first, however, rancher control in Santa Paula was not a purely economic matter. For the big growers also dominated the community politically and socially.

Many ranchers played active and important roles in city and school district government. The first man to serve as mayor of Santa Paula was Louis A. Hardison. Perhaps the best known of all of Santa Paula's mayors was M. L. Steckel, another rancher. He was followed in office



by William L. Ramsey, a leading figure in the co-operative movement. Ramsey not only served as mayor for eight years, but also spent an additional nine years on the city council, and thirteen years as a member of the high school board. Donald Teague was president of this high school board for many years during the 1930's and 1940's, and Arthur Blanchard served as city attorney through much of the same period.

The ranchers have always been extremely interested in their community,<sup>73</sup> and, for this reason, Santa Paula owes many of its most important public improvements to their philanthropy. Santa Paula High School was founded in 1889 as the Santa Paula Academy at a cost of \$17,000 by a group whose leaders were ranchers Nathan Blanchard, Wallace Hardison, James Sharp, and rancher-banker-developer C. H. McKeveit. In 1891 the group turned it over to the city for only \$8,000. Later, McKeveit's widow donated the land for North Grammar School, and also built a clubhouse for the women of Santa Paula. In 1906 Blanchard gave the city a library, and when in 1920 a bridge was needed to connect Santa Paula with the South Mountain oil field across the river, it was financed, not by taxes, but by a public subscription totaling \$157,000.<sup>74</sup> Unfortunately, the effects of these gifts may not have been entirely beneficial, for the citizens of Santa Paula apparently came to depend upon such philanthropy. They developed a persistent unwillingness to tax themselves for public purposes. During the population boom of 1916-1926, for example, the city tax rate actually declined.<sup>75</sup>

An indication of the social dominance enjoyed by the ranching families of Santa Paula was the way in which they set moral standards for the community. Blanchard built his library for the town on the condition that the people outlaw all saloons.<sup>76</sup> When in 1907 a campaign was launched to relegalize the bars, seventy-two ranchers addressed a letter to the *Chronicle* condemning the movement<sup>77</sup> and, in the election which followed, city voters rejected every proliquor candidate on the ballot. Blanchard opposed not only liquor, but also disreputable women. While serving in the California Assembly during the 1860's, he introduced a bill to outlaw traveling dancing girls.<sup>78</sup> His conservative standards apparently came to pervade the entire community, for in 1923 Santa Paula achieved national notoriety by firing a school teacher for bobbing her hair.<sup>79</sup> Another conservative protagonist was Mrs. C. C.

Teague, whose opposition to cigarettes established the tradition that women were not to smoke in the clubhouse which her mother had donated to the city.<sup>80</sup>

Further indication of the citrus growers' social dominance was the way in which the people of the community turned almost instinctively to them for leadership. On March 13, 1928, the St. Francis Dam collapsed, killing 385 people in the Santa Clara Valley.<sup>81</sup> The next day a citizens committee was set up in Santa Paula to solve the problems arising out of this disaster. Chosen to lead it was C. C. Teague, who, before many days had passed, was speaking for the entire valley.

During the first seventy years of Santa Paula's history, then, not only did citrus come to dominate the town's economy, but the families who owed their wealth to citrus came to dominate its political and social life. Had it not been for World War II, the town might have continued for decades, perhaps indefinitely, as a lemon capital ruled by lemon kings. During the four years of this conflict, however, events occurred which were to alter the course of Santa Paula's history.

That such a change in course had occurred was by no means evident in 1946. Indeed, political and social life in the community went on in the years after the war much as it always had. The financing of public improvements continued to be most readily accomplished by rancher philanthropy. In 1946 the city council proposed a \$185,000 bond issue to build a new city hall and jail. Although the measure was strongly supported by the town's only newspaper, the voters rejected it.<sup>82</sup> No jail was built until 1951, and it was not until 1958, when enough money had been accumulated in the town's general fund to pay for it, that the city hall was finally constructed.<sup>83</sup> An interesting contrast is afforded by the ease with which Santa Paula acquired its Memorial Hospital. In 1958 the Thilles, an old ranching family, offered to donate \$350,000 to get such a project started. Other residents of the area immediately pledged an additional \$500,000, and the Teague-McKevett Company contributed ten acres of land. The first board of directors, which included Eliot Blanchard, grandson of the city's founder, was formed early in 1959 and in 1961 the hospital was in operation.

Ranchers also continued to play an important role in Santa Paula politics. A prominent member of the city council in the years following the war was Nathan W. Blanchard III. As recently as 1958 another



rancher, Ernest Richardson, was serving as mayor. Since 1954 the Congressional district has been represented by Charles McKeveatt Teague, a son of the citrus pioneer.

The continued political importance of the ranchers has seemingly been more a result of their social pre-eminence than of their wealth. An analysis of contributions made to the 1962 and 1964 campaigns of Congressman Teague shows that heavy rancher financing was not responsible for his victories. Indeed, his brother Milton did not even bother to contribute.<sup>84</sup> The importance of rancher social prestige as a factor in Santa Paula politics was also demonstrated in school elections held in 1958 and 1959. In the former year the elementary schools secured the passage of a tax override. Success was achieved, in the opinion of Dr. Robert Belknap, district superintendent at the time, primarily because Eliot Blanchard's wife, Elizabeth, campaigned actively for the measure.<sup>85</sup> At about the same time, a high school district bond issue for site acquisition was twice defeated by the voters. Mrs. Blanchard became convinced that high school affairs were being poorly managed and decided to run for the board.<sup>86</sup> In the election which followed, although all candidates adopted essentially the same position and none was tainted by previous connection with the board, Mrs. Blanchard polled almost two hundred more votes than her three opponents combined. The decisive factor in both the elementary tax override election and the high school board election appears to have been the Blanchard name. The *Chronicle* expressed the essence of postwar politics in Santa Paula when it declared after a successful tax increase election, "The measure was backed by many prominent Santa Paula citizens."<sup>87</sup>

Yet, while the political and social importance of the ranchers continued, the economic foundation upon which their dominance had rested was beginning to disintegrate. The citrus industry was dying. In the years after 1940 Santa Paula was undergoing a transformation from ranching center to residential area, and as new houses went in, the lemon trees came out.

It was during World War II that Santa Paula was for the first time cast in the role of a bedroom community. The Navy hired eleven thousand civilian workers at nearby Port Hueneme, and employed others at Point Mugu. Because of a housing shortage near these facilities,

many who came into the area to work for the Navy took up residence in Santa Paula. The population of the town jumped from 8,986 in 1940 to 12,500 in 1945.<sup>88</sup>

Many of these new residents left after the termination of hostilities, and others departed when additional housing was erected near Port Hueneme. However, World War II had laid the foundation for a population boom in Santa Paula. It is true, however, that for many years the town continued to grow at a rate slower than that of other Ventura County communities.<sup>89</sup> It is also true that a major factor affecting the growth of the town continued to be periodic oil revivals. Standard brought in a new field in 1947, and Shell one in 1955. But the important fact is that Santa Paula had been established in the role of a bedroom community. Between 1945 and 1948 three new housing tracts were opened in the town. When employment opportunities in nearby Oxnard increased far more rapidly than the housing available there, Santa Paula absorbed many of the excess people.

The development of Santa Paula as a bedroom community was, for a time, threatened by an old mineral reservation which cast a cloud over deeds to all property in the community. The mineral rights to Santa Paula had been separated from the surface rights in 1864 when George Briggs sold the former to his brother-in-law, Edward Haskell, but retained the latter. In the years after World War II, federal housing officials twice sent out directives that no FHA or Veterans' loans were to be made on property divested of its mineral rights. The Santa Paula Realty Board hired lawyers, who, with the assistance of Congressman Teague, lobbied successfully in Washington to obtain special rulings for the community. Also, local citizens induced the Santa Paula y Saticoy Oil Company, purchasers of the Haskell rights, to execute an agreement waiving, for a fee, all surface entry rights to property on which money had been loaned.<sup>90</sup> Thus was removed what might have been a barrier to residential construction in Santa Paula.

Between 1950 and 1962, 1,300 new homes were built in the community.<sup>91</sup> Many of these were occupied by people who worked in southern Ventura County. After 1957, the boom in that area began, as real estate broker George Caldwell expresses it, to "slop over" into Santa Paula.<sup>92</sup> Between 1956 and 1964 the local population increased from 12,186 to 15,050.<sup>93</sup>



This population boom proved disastrous for the citrus industry. Because the new residents required more governmental services than were paid for by taxes on their homes, tax rates increased. Most of this increase was in county, not municipal, taxes; therefore, ranchers outside as well as inside the city were affected. These rising taxes combined with increased labor and production costs to make agriculture increasingly unprofitable.<sup>94</sup> At the same time, land prices rose rapidly. Between 1945 and 1965 good citrus acreage increased in value from \$3,000 to \$7,500 per acre. More importantly, citrus acreage in the path of development was by 1965 selling for \$10,000 to \$15,000 per acre.<sup>95</sup> Faced with declining profits and increasing land values the farmers began to sell out. In 1958 the descendants of Nathan Blanchard disposed of his original orchard.

While farming was beginning to decline, industry was on the rise in Santa Paula. The Pulsation Controls Company, manufacturers of industrial silencers, set up operations there. The town also acquired a Weyerhaeuser box factory and a French Beauty Brassiere plant. This increasing industrialization may have been due in part to the building through Santa Paula of a freeway designed to provide a direct route between the coast and the San Joaquin Valley. To some extent, also, it was due to the fact that agriculture was becoming increasingly mechanized, making more local workers available for industry.<sup>96</sup> To a large extent, however, it was due to a conscious promotional effort. In 1928 a real estate developer had noted, "High pressure methods have never been employed to advertise the attractions of Santa Paula to the world."<sup>97</sup> This now began to change. A planning commission was set up in 1948, and in 1950 zoning was introduced. The chamber of commerce began to put out flashy publications designed to attract industry. To some extent, this increasing promotional effort was probably due to the fact that the merchants were at last gaining control of the chamber of commerce.<sup>98</sup> However, many of the old ranching families were themselves pushing for industrialization. When the chamber, in 1962, put out a booklet entitled *The Economic Resources of Santa Paula*, recommending further industrial expansion, Robert Hardison compiled one section and Ernest Richardson another.<sup>99</sup> It is significant that when Eliot Blanchard began breaking up the family orchard, he at once made plans to locate a plastics plant on part of the land.

Today, citrus still dominates the economy of Santa Paula. Recent statistics indicate that over 18 per cent of its labor force is employed in agriculture, as compared to 15 per cent in retail trade, and only 6.5 per cent in manufacturing.<sup>100</sup> Since the late 1950's, however, agriculture has been declining,<sup>101</sup> and competing forms of economic activity have been on the rise. As the Chamber of Commerce says, "the city is just emerging from an acricultural [*sic*] economy to that of a more balanced economy with increased industries, services and payrolls."<sup>102</sup>

The decline of agriculture will almost certainly bring profound changes to the community of Santa Paula. For almost one hundred years the town has been ruled by citrus farmers. Now that their economic importance is declining, their social and political dominance seems likely to slip away. Already the city has passed an ordinance providing pay for city councilmen, thus opening up the local government to members of all social classes.<sup>103</sup> Those ranchers, like the late Eliot Blanchard, who plunged into the new forms of economic activity will no doubt remain important figures in the community. But the rule of the barons of agriculture is doomed. The era of the lemon is drawing to a close in Santa Paula.

#### NOTES

1. Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, *The Economic Resources of Santa Paula, California* (Santa Paula, California: Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, 1962), p. 11.

2. This valley, sometimes called the Santa Clara Valley of the South, should not be confused with California's other Santa Clara Valley. The latter, located in the San Jose area, is technically known as the Santa Clara Valley of the North.

3. T. H. Thompson and Albert A. West, *Reproduction of Thompson and West's History of Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties* (Berkeley, California: Howell North, 1961), p. 399.

4. Blanchard's daughter Sarah (*Memories of a Child's Early California Days* [Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1961], p. 12), W. W. Robinson (*The Story of Ventura County* [Los Angeles: Title Insurance and Trust Co., 1955], p. 20), and Charles Collins Teague (*Fifty Years a Rancher: The Recollections of Half a Century Devoted to the Citrus and Walnut Industries of California and to Furthering the Co-operative Movement in Agriculture* [Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1944], p. 30)—all state that Blanchard and Bradley were partners in buying the land from Briggs. However, since Miss Blanchard's book is based on childhood recollections, it frequently errs as to



details. Robinson apparently assumes that the purchase was not made until 1873 when the town site was laid out, but Thompson and West (as re-printed in Blanchard, *Memories*, Appendix V, p. 116), Robert N. Clark (*Narrative of a Native* [Los Angeles: Times-Mirror Corporation, 1936], p. 8), and Teague (*Fifty Years a Rancher*, p. 29)—all date the purchase in 1872. Clark (*Narrative of a Native*, p. 134) mentions a sale by Briggs to Higgins sometime after 1867. It therefore seems probable that Thompson and West are correct in asserting that Higgins and Blanchard together bought the land, and that the former's share later passed to Bradley (Blanchard, *Memories*, Appendix V, p. 116).

5. Colonel W. J. Sanborn, "Memories of a Santa Paula Sheepherder," *Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly*, V (November, 1959), 2.

6. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, April 30, 1962, Section C, p. 1.

7. Thompson and West (*Reproduction*, p. 403) state only that on June 16, when Gordon's saloon was still the only building, the town was "more extensively laid out." J. M. Guinn (*Historical and Biographical Record of Southern California* [Chicago: Chapman Publishing Co., 1917], II, 16) provides greater detail about the appearance of Santa Paula in 1875, and, since he mentions a number of structures in addition to the saloon, it can only be concluded that these were built between June 16 and the end of the year.

8. Colonel W. J. Sanborn ("Memories of a Santa Paula Sheepherder," p. 2) indicates this as the population in the "early 1870's." However, since in his description he mentions the post office and the stores, he is apparently somewhat confused in his dating.

9. Grace Sharp Thille, "Santa Paula High School, the Early Years," *Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly*, III (February, 1962), 19.

10. Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, p. 20.

11. Sanborn, "Memories of a California Sheepherder," p. 2.

12. Ventura County, *Deeds*, VII, 10-12.

13. Benjamin Brooks, C. M. Gidney, and Edward M. Sheridan, *History of Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo and Ventura Counties of California* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1917), II, 658.

14. Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, "History of Santa Paula" (Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, file 12.22), p. 2. (Typewritten.)

15. Guinn, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 180.

16. Frank J. Taylor and Earl M. Welty, *Black Bonanza: How an Oil Hunt Grew into the Union Oil Company of California* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1950), p. 17.

17. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, July 22, 1948, p. 1.

18. Mary Bowman ("Santa Paula," *The Land of Sunshine: A Southern California Magazine*, III [August, 1895], 142) provides a contemporary estimate of

Union's position among western oil firms. Exact production figures are provided by Taylor and Welty (*Black Bonanza*, p. 60).

19. Maynard McFie, "The Gay Nineties," Paper read before a meeting of the Sunset Club (Los Angeles, October 27, 1944), p. 14. (Dean Hobbes Blanchard Memorial Library, Santa Paula, California.)

20. Glen Dumke (*The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* [San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1944], p. 171) errs in stating that this pipe line ran to Port Hueneme. A contemporary account (Bowman, "Santa Paula," p. 142) identifies its terminus as San Buenaventura. Also, the *W. L. Hardison*, a steamer purchased by Bard to transport the company's oil, burned at the wharf in San Buenaventura.

21. Taylor and Welty, *Black Bonanza*, p. 40.

22. Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, p. 28.

23. Dumke, *Boom of the Eighties*, p. 170.

24. Howard Bledsoe, "Pen Pictures," *Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly*, IX (November, 1963), 15.

25. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, July 23, 1948, p. 1.

26. Guinn, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 513.

27. The *Santa Paula Chronicle* (April 30, 1962, Section D, p. 3) presents an interesting, but, unfortunately, incomplete history of the motion picture business in Santa Paula.

28. Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, pp. 53-54.

29. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, March 14, 1918, p. 1.

30. William Cumberland (*Co-operative Marketing: Its Advantages and Disadvantages as Exemplified in the California Fruit Growers' Exchange* [Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1917], p. 24) gives fifteen acres as the size of the average California citrus ranch of this period. The figure for the number of acres farmed by Limoneira is provided by Teague himself (*Fifty Years a Rancher*, p. 61).

31. The McKeveitt family apparently disappeared with the death of Alan, the developer's son, in 1917.

32. Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, p. 122.

33. Cumberland, *Co-operative Marketing*, pp. 59-61.

34. Interview with Lloyd Bedell, retired Santa Paula merchant, March 28, 1965.

35. Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, p. 64.

36. Information on population changes during these years is provided by the California Taxpayers' Association (*Report of Santa Paula, California: An Analysis of Past Growth and Expenditures and a Projected Ten Year Financial Program 1927-37*, Report No. 7 [Los Angeles: California Taxpayers' Associa-



tion, 1927], p. 7) and by Veva Allee ("Santa Paula Highlights" [Santa Paula, California, October 13, 1952], p. 4. [Available in typescript at the Dean Hobbes Blanchard Memorial Library, Santa Paula.] )

37. California Taxpayers' Association, *Report*, p. 25.
38. Allee, "Santa Paula Highlights," p. 4.
39. California Taxpayers' Association, *Report*, p. 9.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
42. Interview with George Caldwell, Jr., Santa Paula real estate broker, April 3, 1965.
43. Interview with Charles Outland, Santa Paula rancher and local historian, April 2, 1965.
44. Caldwell, interview.
45. The *Santa Paula Chronicle* (October 10, 1933, p. 1) provides information on municipal pay cuts during the Great Depression. Information on similar salary reductions in the local school systems was given by Thelma Bedell, retired Santa Paula teacher and school administrator, in an interview conducted March 28, 1965.
46. Caldwell, interview.
47. Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, *Economic Resources*, "Conclusions," No. 5.
48. Lloyd Bedell, interview.
49. George Meany, "Peonage in California," *American Federationist*, XLVIII (May, 1941), 5. Lloyd Bedell (interview) supports Meany's statement that workers had to buy through company stores.
50. Lloyd Bedell (interview), a retired merchant, expresses this opinion and both George Caldwell (interview), a real estate broker, and Charles Outland (interview), a rancher and local historian, identify it as typical of Santa Paula merchants.
51. *Santa Paula Water Works v. Peralta*, 13 Cal. 38-45, Pac. 168 (1896).
52. Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, pp. 44-45.
53. Lloyd Bedell, interview.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1939), p. 61.
56. Blanchard, *Memories*, pp. 31-32.
57. Information on the use of Japanese agricultural workers in the Santa Paula area may be found in an untitled manuscript by local historian Clarence Earl Kelsey (Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce file 11.36, p. 2. [Typewritten.] )

Carey McWilliams (*North from Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States* [New York: Monthly Review Press, 1961], p. 215) discusses the importation of Mexicans to work in Southern California citrus orchards during the years after 1914, and Thelma Bedell (interview) offers information on the continuing importation of these Mexican farm workers into the Santa Paula area during the 1920's.

58. The author has viewed these houses personally and can attest that even today, while small and unattractive, they are considerably better than the "tiny primeval shacks" described by George Meany in 1941 ("Peonage in California," p. 5).

59. Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, p. 147.

60. California Taxpayers' Association, *Report*, p. 39.

61. Thelma Bedell (interview), although herself an opponent of segregated schools, feels that they were necessary in Santa Paula, because of the language problem of the Mexican children. The California Taxpayers' Association agrees (*Report*, p. 28). Carey McWilliams, who expresses the opinion that it is silly to regard California school segregation as a natural outgrowth of cultural differences between the two races (*North from Mexico*, p. 217), is definitely in the minority.

62. McWilliams, *North from Mexico*, p. 215.

63. Meany, "Peonage in California," p. 31.

64. Predictably, the leaders of the two opposing sides in the labor dispute differ considerably in their explanations of its origins. George Meany (*Ibid.*, p. 5) maintains that the union was asked to come in by the pickers and called the strike only when the ranchers refused to negotiate. Teague (*Fifty Years a Rancher*, p. 148) asserts that professional organizers intimidated the Mexicans into walking off the job.

65. Meany, "Peonage in California," p. 31.

66. Lloyd Bedell, interview.

67. Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher*, p. 149.

68. Caldwell, interview.

69. *Ibid.*

70. Interviews with Carl Bowden, Santa Paula distributor for Texaco Oil Company, and Tom Harrison, Santa Paula distributor for Union Oil Company, April 9, 1965.

71. Caldwell, interview.

72. Outland, interview; Caldwell, interview.

73. Thelma Bedell, interview.

74. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, August 14, 1941, p. 9.



75. Thelma Bedell (interview) testifies that this tendency has been much in evidence throughout the period 1923-65 during which she has resided in Santa Paula. Specific figures for the period 1916-26 are provided by the California Taxpayers' Association (*Report*, p. 17).

76. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, March 1, 1907, p. 1.

77. *Ibid.*

78. Brooks, Gidney, and Sheridan, *History*, p. 659.

79. Thelma Bedell, interview.

80. *Ibid.*

81. Robinson, *Story of Ventura County*, p. 29.

82. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, January 8, 1946, p. 4.

83. Interview with Phyllis Uffen, Santa Paula City Clerk, April 9, 1965.

84. Ventura County, "Campaign Statements of Partisan Candidates—General Election November 6, 1962" and "Campaign Statements: Partisan and Nonpartisan Office Candidates—General Election 1964." (Available in files of County Recorder.)

85. Interview with Dr. Robert Belknap, former superintendent of the Santa Paula Elementary School District, April 4, 1965.

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, June 18, 1947, p. 1.

88. California State Chamber of Commerce, "Economic Survey of California and Its Counties," *California Blue Book* (Sacramento, California: Printing Division, California State Department of Finance, 1946), p. 763.

89. Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, "Conclusions," *Economic Resources*.

90. Caldwell, interview.

91. Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, *Economic Resources*, p. 13.

92. Caldwell, interview.

93. Compare figures provided for the years 1956-61 by the Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce (*Economic Resources*, p. 13) with those provided by its Industrial Committee for 1964 ("Labor," "Santa Paula, California" [Folder.] )

94. Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, *Economic Resources*, p. 126.

95. Caldwell, interview.

96. *Ibid.*

97. "Advertising Our City," *The New Vision*, I (February, 1928), 1.

98. Lloyd Bedell, interview.

99. Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, "Introduction," *Economic Resources*.

100. Industrial Committee of the Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, "Labor," "Santa Paula, California."

101. Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, *Economic Resources*, p. 25.

102. Santa Paula Chamber of Commerce, "Introduction," *ibid.*

103. City of Santa Paula, *The Code of the City of Santa Paula, California* (Los Angeles: Michie City Publication Co., 1959), Section 2.3.



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# Pioneering Land Development in the Californias: An Interview with David Otto Brant

*Edited, with an Introduction,*

By NOEL J. STOWE

## INTERVIEW

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### THE FAMILY BACKGROUND

MY GRANDFATHER, my mother's father, and mother came to California in the Gold-Rush days in 1850. My grandfather, A. C. Thomas, Alfred Caldwell Thomas, left home in the early part of 1850 after the excitement of the '49 Gold-Rush Days' news reached Ohio. He decided to come to California with some of his friends and make his fortune out here. He went down to New Orleans and from there down to the Isthmus of Panama, and they walked across the Isthmus of Panama and caught a sailing ship up. It took them about seven months to make the trip. They were becalmed off Catalina out here, and they damn [*sic*] near died. They ran out of food and water, and one ship passed them up. Then another ship was becalmed over some miles away, and some of them rowed over there, and they got a barrel of salt pork; [this] was about all they were able to [get]. I have my grandfather's diary on that trip and also his letters home to his father who was the first postmaster of Hamilton, Ohio—shot the last bear, according to one of the newspaper accounts.

\* \* \*

My [maternal] grandmother was born in Ireland, in [the] northern coast of Ireland, up in Donegal County. I knew her very well. My grandfather, my mother's father, had died before I was old enough to remember him, but I remember my grandmother very well. She spoke Gaelic, was a little tiny woman, very successful in a business way as her husband was. Well, they met in Sacramento. My grandmother came over with her family. [They] were driven out of Ireland by the potato famine that started in 1845 . . . and they came to California. My grandfather met my grandmother in Sacramento and married her there. My mother's oldest sister, . . . her name was Sophie, Sophia, or Sophie, . . . married a man from New York named Leo J. McGuire.<sup>67</sup> I have cousins with the same name now. Leo J. McGuire, and so forth, Alfred McGuire. But they married there, and my oldest aunt had three daughters. . . . Sophia was born in Sacramento, and my grand-

father took his bride and his first-born back to Hamilton to show his family back there. My mother was born there. Later on they came back to California.

OTTO FREEMAN BRANT

My father [Otto Freeman Brant] was born in Hamilton.<sup>68</sup> His father died when he was fourteen years old, and he had to go to work at that age to help support his mother and his mother's family. He started to take up the boot-making trade, but at that time the first machine [that] made shoes came on the market, and he said that he was smart enough to see that if they could make shoes by machinery that his job wouldn't be very much; so he took a job as a messenger boy. The railroads delivered the telegrams and things in those days, and he took the job as messenger boy for telegrams. Later he became a telegraph operator, later on station agent, and finally was moved to Indiana. When he was over in there, [he] had charge of the Nickel-Plate Railroad.<sup>69</sup> He married my mother, and they came to California.<sup>70</sup> On his way out, why my father and his older brother Byron K. Brant, who came out, became an orange grower out there in the Uplands and the Ontario district, and was president of the Citrus Grower's Exchange, . . . stopped in Midland, Texas, and built a big irrigation project. Too bad he didn't dig a well a little deeper and get down in the oil. He borrowed money. My grandfather [A. C. Thomas] who came to California was quite a successful businessman and left his daughters and his widow quite a considerable sum for those days, hundred years ago. I have a note from my father and his brother who had borrowed \$30,000 from my mother to build this canal system down at Midland, Texas; and they became owners of that project. I never did get to find out exactly what they sold it for, but there are telegrams and things authorizing it to be sold for \$500,000. Whatever it was, [this] was the nest egg that they brought out to California.

ESTABLISHMENT OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISES

First my father and his friends took up real estate business at the Palms.<sup>71</sup> . . . That was the fashionable—halfway to the beach—something like the Bel Air of today, you know. They sold real estate there for a while. The real estate market was so chaotic they were selling lots that didn't exist, and a lot of them under water and all that sort of thing.

TITLE INSURANCE

So he and Mr. O. P. Clark,<sup>72</sup> who'd been a friend of his back east in Indiana, they went in [together]. . . . Mr. Clark had gone in . . . an abstract company. He wrote a beautiful hand as did my father and his brothers. . . . So they got into the abstract business by buying out one of the small companies that had an office at the corner of Franklin and New High Street. That's right up near the old Hall of Records down there in the Civic Center. Then after they bought this abstract company, they joined up with their rival company across the street and founded Title Insurance and Trust Company in 1893.<sup>73</sup>



My father was the whole cheese. Mr. Clark was a very fine man but a very retiring man, and he and his wife<sup>74</sup> wrote the policies. . . . My father was at the desk and got the business. . . . They were very young men. I have pictures of them sitting at their desks. They were so young that they grew big handle-bar moustaches and wore cutaway coats to have an older look so people would have more confidence in their policies of Title Insurance.

Two or three years after they founded the company. . . . Mr. William H. Allen, Jr.,<sup>75</sup> who was older than they were [joined the company]. . . . [He] had been a banker back in the Midwest, and he apparently had sold out and came to California; and to get him to invest his money in the Title Insurance and Trust Company, they promised to make him president of the company without pay. He had to go out and sell stock, though, to raise more money. So they really had a hard time of it there. Then the terrible depression came along, and they were just about to fold up . . . [when] some subdivider came in and gave them a big job of writing policies for this subdivision.

\* \* \*

My father . . . [was] really the active head; he was vice-president-general manager;<sup>76</sup> they made Mr. Allen president to get him to invest his money and so that he'd have a title [in order] to sell—thought it would be better for him selling stock to people.

[William Staats<sup>77</sup> who had invited Allen into Title Insurance originally] . . . was a very fine man, came out here for sickness and lived in Pasadena. The Raymond Hotel over there was a very fashionable place, and he used to meet his Eastern friends [there]. He was from New York . . . and he arrived about the same time that my father and all.<sup>78</sup>

The Title Insurance and Trust Company had a competitor named the Title Guarantee and Trust Company, and they battled back and forth, you know. They used to have ball teams and they'd hire professionals and one thing and another, you know, to beat each other. Finally, when my father died, why it turned out that he and Mr. Clark [had] decided if they were going to have some opposition, competition, they might as well get in [on it]; so they had Carla Leonard's father, Carl Leonard (he had made a tremendous fortune; he was a cement worker, buildings and roadways, and all that, big contractor), buy control of the Title Guarantee, the rival company, and milked all the profits away. Nobody knew that. They were great financial days!

#### THE COLORADO DESERT

Well, anyway, now about the C-M [and its founders]. . . . Harry Chandler<sup>79</sup> had tuberculosis.<sup>80</sup> He was from, he and General Sherman,<sup>81</sup> were from New England. He and General Sherman came from New Hampshire and Vermont. They came out separately, but Mr. Chandler went to work out in the San Fernando Valley where it was hot and dry, and he drove a team of mules and shoveled sand and one thing and another there until he got his health back. And then

he came into Los Angeles and got the newspaper routes for the afternoon papers. In those days we had three or four afternoon papers. The *Herald*, the *Express*, and the *Record*, they were [the] newspapers. He made a tremendous success of distributing the papers. And General Harrison Gray Otis,<sup>82</sup> who was owner of the *Times*, and a General in the . . . Spanish-American War in the Philippines . . . was the tyrant, the owner of the newspaper, the Los Angeles *Times*. And when he heard about this great success that Harry Chandler was making out of the distribution of the afternoon papers, he called him in and asked him how he'd like to distribute the morning *Times*. And, of course, he jumped at that. And finally married the boss's daughter and became the owner and editor and publisher and the whole works.

Well, he and his experiences out in the San Fernando Valley. He met up with a kind of rough and ready engineer, a fellow named Joe Allison<sup>83</sup> who had been down in the Colorado River Desert, which is down where Calexico and Mexicali and the Imperial Valley now . . . [are]. He saw the great possibilities of the Imperial Valley area being the vegetable basket of America and all that sort of thing. He talked to Mr. Chandler about it.<sup>84</sup> Mr. Chandler got some of the leading bankers to go down . . . to look at this desert land. He painted this beautiful picture of the rose garden and vegetable garden of the world. They got back to Los Angeles as fast as they could. (Mr. Chandler told me all of this himself, so I know it's fact.) They told General Otis that he'd better lock that son-in-law of his up. They thought he was completely nuts. He took them down to the worse kind of desert where there would never be anything but desert sand and one thing and another, and so they bowed out.

So, I asked Mr. Chandler . . . "How did you and [my] father get together?" Well, he said that father was doing such a terrific job developing Title Insurance and Trust Company, [and] "I heard he was a strong man . . . [so] I just went down to his office and introduced myself and told him my story and offered to take him down." And he said, "your father said to me, . . . 'I'll go down and take a look at it, but I don't want you there throwing the bull at me. So I'll go down alone.'" And I can remember that trip that father made.

Mother, of course, was very frightened at the prospect of father going away out there in that desert because here she had a handful of a half dozen kids.<sup>85</sup> And so she said what should she do if any of them became desperately sick. So father told her that he would leave word in Yuma to where he was going; and, if they wired his party, they'd send Indian runners out onto the desert and locate him and bring him back. So I remember that very well. And we all prayed. Mother got us all down on our hands and knees and praying for a safe return. He came back with a couple of ollas. They were big balls made by the Indians. Made out of clay, they were unglazed, they were porous. They would bury those where there was a showing of water in the sand, had a neck just big enough to get your hand in with a cover on that, and they would cover those up with sand. They had some way of locating them. I don't know what that was,



# The Great Imperial Valley



The following portfolio of photographs is presented to provide the reader with a general view of the California Imperial Valley.

They are not individually identified. Rather the purpose is to illustrate the geography of the area, the attempts to bring Colorado River water to the area for use in irrigation projects and the successful agricultural flowering of the valley that ultimately came to pass.

Recognizing the endless attempt of generations of Americans battling the Great American Desert of the Southwest amply justifies the selection and presentation of this small group of illustrations in support of the reminiscences of David Brant.

R. A. W.







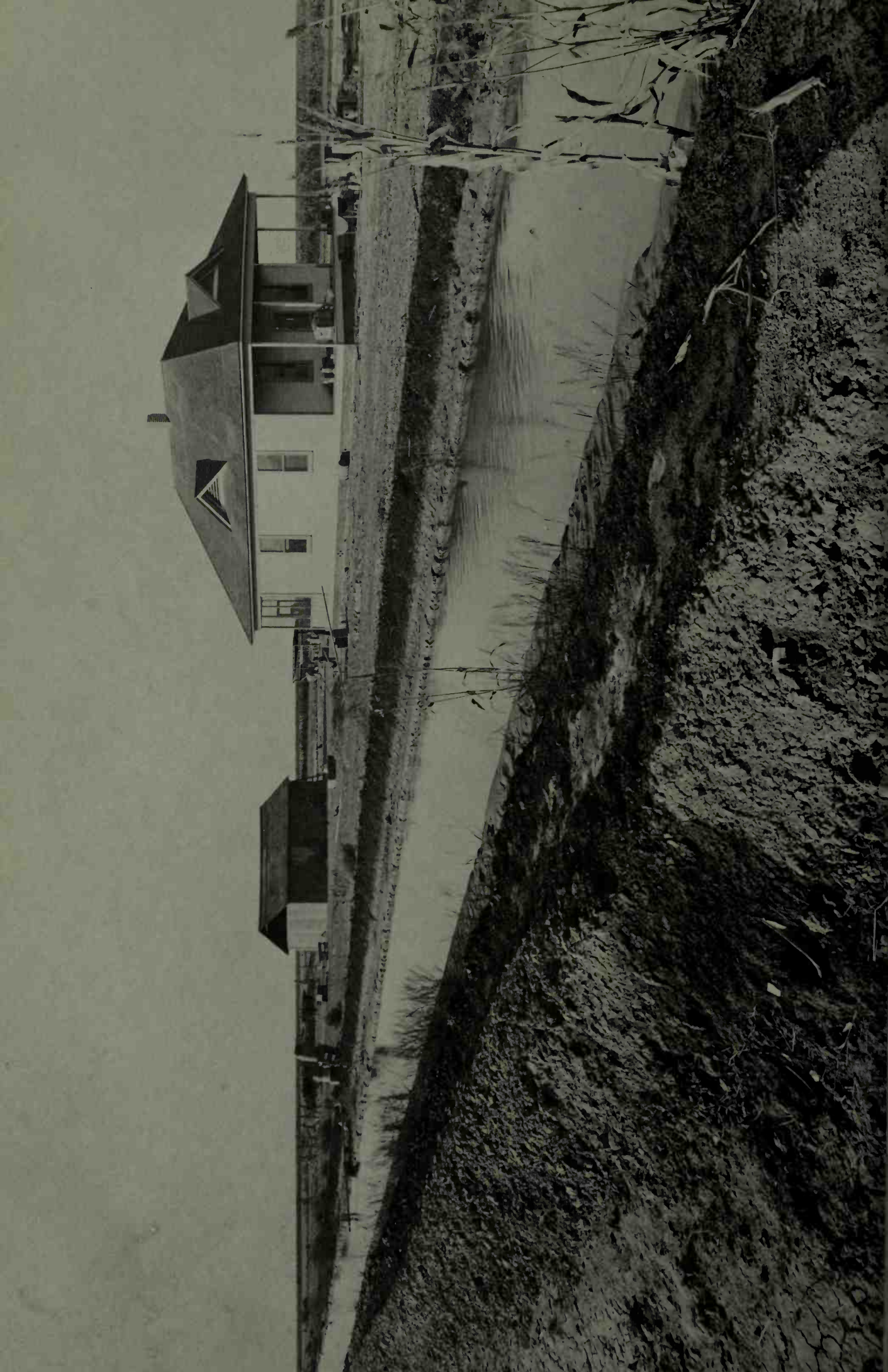






















but he had one of those dug up and brought it up. We had it in our library there on Figueroa Street. . . .

Another thing that he brought back—somebody had castrated a bull, and had taken his scrotum, his pouch, and filled it full of sand and one thing and another so it was up like this. And they'd put a red baby ribbon around the top and filled it with cigars. Father used to embarrass my mother by holding this thing out offering everybody cigars. He and Mr. Chandler were always full of fun and always joking with each other, even though things were terribly serious always.

My father used to take us down there [to the desert]. They had Indians down there, the Cócopa Indians. They were very wild looking people. When my brother [Robert Alston Brant],<sup>86</sup> when David's [David Mann Brant]<sup>87</sup> father was a very young boy, father liked to take one or two or three of us down there, kind of educate us, one thing or another. He was quite a hunter and very good shot, and he wanted us to [be]. So he bought us all guns. We used to shoot ducks and even pelicans—great big white-breasted pelicans. There were so many of them—millions of them down there. We shot a bunch of pelicans and father brought the breasts up and had one of these furriers make a big opera coat for mother. She looked like a pouter pigeon in her pelican white; it was just as white as snow. Mother wore it once, but once was enough.

I can remember my father going down to Yuma and making the trip out onto the desert with Indian runners and guides—that was before we moved over to Figueroa Street.

#### DAVID O. BRANT AND THE FAMILY

I was born over on Boyle Heights, 137 North Soto. They just tore the house down here recently. And that house father and mother had apparently bought when it was under construction, and father mortgaged that home to borrow money to put in Title Insurance and Trust Company. He was the largest stockholder, individual stockholder, of the company right all the time, up 'til the time of his death. Then, of course, he left his stock to mother who had really financed him in the whole thing. He'd taken her \$30,000 and pyramided it into millions, you know. So he left his stock to mother because we were all pretty young. He passed away in '22. She eventually distributed it equally among us, each one of the six of us children. . . . I was born in 1889, when I was four years old father incorporated . . . Title Insurance. My mother took us back to Chicago to the Columbian World's Exposition there. I remember it very well, even though I was only four years old. I have never forgotten some of the features there.

When I was about six or seven years old, we left Boyle Heights and father bought a house on South Figueroa Street which was one of those enormous big Gay Nineties' places—built like a battleship, the whole house was. The basement was solid concrete, big, heavy walls, and a laundry and coal and wood and things, a storage room, dark rooms for photography, and work shops and places to store jams and jellies and all that sort of [thing]. Then there were four stories

on top of that. The first floor was the kitchen, of course, dining room and living room, library. Then upstairs, the bedrooms. The third floor more bedrooms. And my mother and father put all the boys up on the third floor. And the girls weren't allowed to go up there, and we could run around up there. Then we had a little roof garden even on top of that.<sup>88</sup>

I went to the University of California, Berkeley. Graduated there and then I went up to Davis for one semester and I studied agriculture. . . . I was playing football at L.A. High, and we didn't play high schools, we only played colleges. . . . We beat USC twice one year, and they used to have songs, "We'll beat ole L.A. High." Our team—L.A. High<sup>89</sup> was up on the hill at that time up around Temple, down around the Civic Center there. Inasmuch as we were the only high school around Southern California or Arizona or any place, we used to get these big farm guys come up, you know, from Arizona, shepherders and one thing and another; we'd make football players out of them.

Well, I really wasn't—I didn't think I was smart enough to go to college so I didn't prepare myself to get any entrance examinations, I mean any recommendations or anything. So my father told us all that he would pay for our education until we were thirty years old, but he said, "when you're thirty, if you're ever going to be able to support yourselves, you ought to be able to by when you're thirty. If you stop school in the meantime, you have to start supporting yourselves immediately." Well, I graduated from high school at nineteen, and I didn't like the prospects of supporting myself at all—not in the manner in which I had become accustomed. So I had to make up my mind to go to college. So I began to cast around to where I could get in. Well, my older brother<sup>90</sup> had been up against somewhat the same. He'd been at Cal-Tech before it was called Cal-Tech, when it was called Throop Polytechnic Institute.<sup>91</sup> He was a very good mechanic, very good with his hands and everything, etc. So he found out he could get in the University of Virginia, and he could stay as long as he wanted. . . . So I was going to follow in his footsteps and go down to the University of Virginia. But my father—he never would let us talk business at home. We had to go down to his office, just like a business deal. He usually entered a contract with us, and he said, "What are you going to be best of in the world?" So I told him I didn't have any idea of being the best, I thought if I could get in someplace—"Well," he said, "I don't think you ought to go to college unless you're going to try to study and be the best of something in the world." So he said, "Go out and look at all the signs; see what you're going to be the best of in the world." He tried to get me to go down in the Imperial Valley and open a store or something down there. But I wasn't ready to go to work and so I said no. I wanted to complete my education. Well he said, "I don't want to influence you, but," he said, "I've got a lot of land," . . . this was one of the things that he had. So I saw that he was anxious to have me study agriculture. We used to call that "Cow College," you know. It was sort of the cinch course of the University. So I wired up to one of my friends who I had been in high



school with, who was a year ahead of me and asked him what the requirements were to get in college; and he sent back the bad news for me because I didn't have any recommendations to speak of at all. So, the [vice-]principal of L.A. High, Mrs. Dorsey, was over at Catalina on her vacation. It was during the summer vacation time. I got on the steamer and went over and visited with Mrs. Dorsey over there on the front porch of the Metropole Hotel. I told her my problem. She said, "Well, you know you were very active in school. You were the head of the self-government, the football team, and this that and the other. So we have the right and privilege to give you recommendations in anything we think you're capable of handling." So she asked me what I'd studied, and I told her. She gave me recommendations in everything I'd passed in and said, "But you have no foreign language. You gotta have two years of foreign language." I said, "Well, my sister and I got in the same class one time, and she said, 'either you get out or I get out.'" I said, "I'll get out. I don't care about foreign languages." So I passed that up." Well, anyway, I had to make up two years of high school foreign language then study two years at Berkeley. So I was studying Japanese, Chinese, French, and Spanish all the same time. And a strange thing—I had a Chinese man nurse when I was a baby, and when I went to study Chinese, it came quite easy for me. I couldn't understand it and I told my mother about it. She said, "Well, you had a Chinese man nurse when you were a baby, and he used to talk Chinese to you."

David's<sup>92</sup> father, my brother Pike—Robert was his real name.<sup>93</sup> Mother had named all the rest of us; and when the last born, Pike, was born, why mother said [to father], "You must name this last child." And father said, "Oh no. That's your job." My youngest brother went without a name for two or three weeks. Finally, my father said, "Well, if you insist, I'm going to name him after a favorite uncle of mine who ran a whiskey distillery back there, Pike Alston. . . ." So my mother was up in arms. . . .

\* \* \*

Father bought a lot right across from the Miramar Hotel in Santa Monica, . . . and . . . Senator Jones<sup>94</sup> had that whole block where the Miramar is. He was one of the Comstock Lode investors and a wealthy man. He had cows down there and he had his cow corral right across. Father had quite a sense of humor, so in his letterhead he had on it: "Our home in Santa Monica is directly across from Senator Jones' cow yard."

Mother would take us down before school would open up and we would all get to father's office there about five o'clock, time to quit work. Then he'd take us down to Mullen & Bluett which was on the corner of First and Spring Street, or Harris & Frank which was north of First Street a block. He'd sit in there and read his paper and he'd turn us loose in there and buy our clothes and stuff. So we would all buy old men hats, and the salesmen just had a field day unloading all. And so we'd run over and ask, "How does this look Papa?" He'd say, "If you can stand it, I can."

## LANDHOLDINGS

## THE BEGINNING OF THE C-M

\* \* \*

About the purchase of the [C-M] land, the Andrade<sup>95</sup> Estate: General Díaz, who was President of Mexico at that time,<sup>96</sup> sold the Andrade Mexican family an enormous big estate about fifty miles square down there in this Colorado River Desert. They had gotten old and they wanted to sell the property. My father, Mr. Chandler, and the associates they got, [such as] Mr. Allen, would get a group of people and they'd be the ring leaders in it and then they would portion it out. Usually there'd be five of them and they would each get six and that would make thirty, you see. So they purchased this fifty square miles from the Andrade Estate. It was the biggest cash purchase ever made in Mexico up 'til that time.

My father being a Title Insurance man—he got one of his employees of Title Insurance and Trust Company, man named David Anderson who spoke Spanish, and he went down to Mexico and searched the archives there and got out the most perfect title that's ever been gotten out in Mexico. If it hadn't been for that title, after the Revolution and General Díaz was deposed and Madero came in and then Carranza—they all, of course, expropriated the land.

We'd spent twelve million in cash down there in developing it and clearing it. The land was just desert land. It had mesquite brush and trees, and they got big tractors and put chains between—great heavy chains—and they'd go across the desert and yank out these trees, and they'd pile them up and burn them, you know, right there on the land and cleared the land and built an irrigation ditch over there and distribution thing. And they had thousands of acres of cotton, and alfalfa, and grazing cattle. Of course the idea was to raise vegetables and things, which eventually developed. But the start, of course, it was more cattle than anything else.

\* \* \*

Well, they not only bought this land in Mexico; but they also took up large areas of land on the American side. So the C-M Ranch, means California-Mexico Land and Cattle Company,<sup>97</sup> that was the name of it, and then, of course, when they got into trouble after the Revolution, the Mexican people, [or rather] the Mexican politicians, and all tried to take the ranch away from them—and did. Why that title was of great benefit and all. So the Mexican government never paid us five cents. Mr. Chandler and I went—father passed away in 1922 and Díaz, I believe, was put out about ten years before that, and all during that time they were threatened always by, to take over the land, especially the land that'd been cleared and all that. We tried our best to keep friendly with the Mexican government because we thought if we could cooperate with them, why we could do both good. So we built a big ranch building over on the Mexican side which invited them to have their offices there and one thing and another—a great, big



building around a patio. Well, they finally took it all away. Well, Mr. Chandler and I went to Mexico many times trying to get some compensation for the land that we'd lost or had taken away from us. They didn't want, they wanted us to go ahead and clear the rest of it so they could take that away from us. Well, we had a fine time in Mexico. They entertained us royally, but we never got five cents out of them. But when Mr. Roosevelt came into power, why he began tossing our money, all over the globe; so he, to pacify the Americans, all the Americans, who had taken up land and so forth in Mexico [who] were up in arms because they had been robbed, you might say, of their property without compensation. . . . Roosevelt agreed finally to pay twenty-five cents on the dollar of money actually spent. So, we were able to show that we had invested twelve million dollars, and over a period of ten or fifteen years they dribbled the money back to us, and we were very glad to get that. But we didn't get anything, nothing more than the actual cash. So that was a big project. Well, they struggled at that thing until Mr. Chandler finally passed away. He did get me interested; I wanted to do my part, but I had my hands full out in the San Fernando Valley.

## SAN FERNANDO VALLEY

The same group had taken over the San Fernando, bought the south half of the San Fernando Valley, and they with their system of spreading out, each of them getting about six helpers to put in a like amount of money. So I had just gotten out of college, I was in college as a matter of fact, just started college the year that they bought the San Fernando Valley, 1909.<sup>98</sup>

\* \* \*

## BRANT RANCHO

On the San Fernando Valley I actually developed the largest herd of Guernsey cattle in the world out on the ranch in the San Fernando Valley.

Father didn't want any of us to go into the Title. He said "that's my business and each one of you should build up your own business." So I built up the largest herd of Guernsey cattle in the world.

The son of the fellow Joe Allison, . . . who interested Mr. Chandler in . . . [the Imperial Valley area] went to Berkeley; became chief engineer down there. Later on when I was developing the land for alfalfa out in the San Fernando Valley for my dairy, why Chester Allison, the son, came out and laid out the alfalfa field. But he was used to working down in the flat lands of Imperial Valley, and he went to a great deal of work to make it flatter, and we had to eventually undo all his work to get some slopes so the water would flow over them. But, of course, we didn't know any better until we experimented, you know.

\* \* \*

David's, young David's father [R. A. Brant], Pike, my brother, he studied horticulture. . . . He was seven years younger than I am, and he went out on the ranch there. My brother, older brother, had planted the first [walnut trees on the

ranch]; they planted all kinds to see which ones would do best out there. We had probably a dozen different varieties on fifty acres. When we found out which variety did the best out there, then we planted another big acreage there, and we tore out the trees that weren't doing well and would put in some of this kind—I think it was called the Eureka, if I remember right.

#### TEJON RANCH

Well, now the Tejon [Ranch]. The Tejon's another one of ours—that's the largest ranch in California. I'm still on the board of that. The Chandlers and the Shermans practically own that. It's a wonderful property—about three hundred thousand acres. It's eventually gonna be very, very valuable. But I figure it'll be after I'm dead and gone. So I, taxwise, as a tax dodge, I've been giving away my stock and conserving my cash and putting it in tax free bonds cause it's no fun to get out and work your head off and then have it all taxed away from you. It takes away all the incentive. I retired when that got too serious. But the Chandlers and Arnold Haskell,<sup>99</sup> who is General Sherman's heir, they have been buying up this stock when it's been low, you know, practically give away. And they've got four or five hundred oil wells up there, and it's a cattle ranch.

\* \* \*

#### NOTES

67. He was notary public for the Articles of Incorporation of the California Mexico Land and Cattle Company. See note 6.

68. Brant was born at Hamilton, Ohio, July 5, 1860. For published references to Brant see John McGroarty, *History of Los Angeles County* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1923); W. W. Robinson, *Panorama, A Picture History of Southern California* (Los Angeles: Title Insurance and Trust Co., 1953); John Baur and Russell E. Belous, *Los Angeles 1900-1961* (Los Angeles, History Division of the Los Angeles County Museum, 1962).

69. McGroarty (*History of Los Angeles County*) reported that Brant was also an agent for the C.S.H.&D. Railroad.

70. He married Susan E. Thomas of Hamilton, Ohio. Sickness in the family caused them to come to California in 1888. McGroarty, *History of Los Angeles County*.

71. Robinson, *Panorama*, mentions Brant being in the real estate business. See note 73.

72. Born in Roseburg, Indiana, Clark came to Los Angeles in 1887 and went to work for Los Angeles Abstract Company. He died in June, 1932, at age seventy-three after an illness of about five weeks. *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 1932.



73. The end of the Boom in 1888 enabled Clark and his friend Brant, "who then was struggling in the real estate business," to purchase a dominant interest in the Los Angeles Abstract Company, Brant "mortgaging his home" to do so. The Los Angeles *Times*, June 17, 1932, states that Clark and O. F. were old friends, "the latter having come here from Valparaiso, Indiana." The merger of the Los Angeles Abstract Company and their rival the Abstract and Title Insurance Company created Title Insurance and Trust Company on December 20, 1893. This company remains Southern California's oldest trust company and is now the largest title company in the nation. Robinson, *Panorama*.

74. Mrs. O. P. (Ella Gates) Clark "wrote the certificates and policies by hand, for the typewritten page was not then considered good enough for the customer." Robinson, *Panorama*.

75. Allen was born October 12, 1853, at Grafton, Illinois. He started working in his father's bank but turned later to the hardware and house furnishing business. In February, 1892, he moved to Los Angeles and opened a hardware, lumber, and furnishing business. At Pasadena in April, 1893, he married Elsie Pettijohn. He became president of Title Insurance in 1895 and remained as such until 1935; he continued as chairman of the board until his death in June, 1943. Allen brought to the company his "business experience and financial connections." William Staats invited him into the company, and then Allen "was given the immediate assignment of selling additional stock so that the company might meet state requirements and go into the business of issuing policies of title insurance as well as abstracts and certificates of title." Robinson, *Panorama*.

Allen also owned stock in the Colorado River Land Company and was an officer in the company. He also was involved in the Arrowhead Lake Company. Lang, C. J., *Who's Who in Los Angeles County, 1928-1929* (Los Angeles: Charles J. Lang, 1928-1929); see also note 11.

76. According to McGroarty, *History of Los Angeles County*, Brant "conceived and originated the idea of escrowing business transactions." Baur and Belous, *Los Angeles, 1900-1961*, report merely that the use of escrow was pioneered by Title Insurance, beginning in 1896.

77. Staats was born in Connecticut. He had been in the investment business in Los Angeles since 1887. Staats was one of the directors of the Los Angeles Abstract Company who was elected after the Clark-Brant takeover. He urged consolidation with the rival company. He also invited William H. Allen, Jr., into the company. In addition to these activities he promoted and constructed the toll road and hotel on Mt. Wilson. Also he financed the Oak Knoll subdivision in Pasadena. Robinson, *Panorama*; Justice B. Detwiler *et al*, *Who's Who in California, 1928-1929* (San Francisco: Who's Who Publishing Co., 1929); C. J. Lang, *Who's Who in Los Angeles County, 1925-1926* (Los Angeles: Charles J. Lang, 1925-1926).

78. When Brant and his friends came to Southern California, i.e., Los Angeles, and where they were born is interesting in light of California developments occurring at the time. Brant came in 1888 from Ohio, Clark in 1887 from Indiana, Allen in 1892 from Illinois, Otis in 1882 from Ohio, Chandler in 1888 from New Hampshire, Staats in 1887 from Connecticut, and Sherman in 1889 from Vermont. Three were from New England and four from the Midwest; all came between 1882 and 1892. Frank X. Pfaffinger joined these migrants in Los Angeles in 1887; he was from Asbach, Bavaria, originally.

79. Chandler was born in Landaff, New Hampshire, May 17, 1864. He arrived in Southern California in 1888. In 1889 he married Magdalene Schlador in Los Angeles; they were the parents of two children, Franceska and Alice May. In 1894 he remarried, this time to the daughter of General Otis, Marian; their children include Constance (Crowe), Ruth (Boswell), Norman, Harrison Gray Otis, Helen (Garland), and Philip. Harry Chandler became president of the Times-Mirror Company and publisher of the *Times* in 1917 following the death of General Otis. Chandler died in September 1944. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1946); *Who's Who in California, 1939-1940* (Los Angeles: Who's Who Publishing Co., n.d.); Los Angeles *Times* Library Files.

80. According to other accounts, Chandler had another ailment brought about by a childhood prank.

81. Moses Hazeltine Sherman was born in West Rupert, Vermont, December 3, 1853. He graduated from the Oswego (New York) Normal School. In 1885 he married Harriet Pratt of San Francisco. Their children include Robert P., Hazeltine (Mrs. Frank B. Keever), and Lucy Pratt. Sherman was a teacher in Prescott, Arizona, from 1874-1876. Later he served as Arizona's territorial superintendent of public instruction. In 1884 he was an organizer of the Valley Bank of Phoenix. He moved to Los Angeles in 1889. With Eli P. Clark he built the Los Angeles Electric Railway. In 1920 he joined the Los Angeles Steamship Company and became its president in 1926. Later he organized the M. H. Sherman Company in 1932 and was its president. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country*; Justice B. Detwiler, *et al*, *Who's Who in California, 1928-1929*.

82. This famous editor and publisher of the Los Angeles *Times* was born February 10, 1837, near Marietta, Ohio. During the Civil War he served as both soldier and officer. He participated in the Spanish American War in the Philippines from which he emerged as a Major General. Previous to this latter war he had been foreman of the Government Printing Office in Washington, chief of a division of the U. S. Patent Office, and an agent for the Treasury Department in charge of Seal Island, Alaska. In addition, he edited the Santa Barbara Press and then came to Los Angeles in 1882 as fourth owner of the *Times*. In 1884 he joined in organizing the Times-Mirror Company and in 1886 became president and general manager—two positions he held until his death in July, 1917. In 1859 at



age twenty-two he had married Eliza A. Wetherby who died in 1904. Of their five children only two survived their parents—Marian Otis Chandler, wife of Harry Chandler, and Mabel Otis Booth, wife of Franklin Booth. Rockwell Hunt, ed., *California and Californians* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1926); *Who's Who in the Pacific Southwest* (Los Angeles: Times-Mirror Printing and Binding House, 1913).

83. Allison was chief engineer of the California Development Company. Later he was involved in the exploitation of underground water in the delta region and was owner of the Delta Canal Company, S.A., and the Compañía de Terrenos Delta, S.C.P. (Delta Land Company), both of which were developing lands of and raising crops on portions of CRLC lands. Agreement, 1930, between J. C. Allison, Cía. de Terrenos Delta, S.C.P., Delta Canal Company, S.A., and CRLC, Lower Colorado River Ginning Company, Title Insurance and Trust Company, W. H. Allen, Harry Chandler, O. F. Brant estate, M. H. Sherman, F. X. Pfaffinger, H. A. Clark, *see* Brant Files; H. T. Cory, *The Imperial Valley and Salton Sink* (San Francisco: John J. Newbegin, 1915).

84. See note 6.

85. The Brant children included Robert Alston (Pike), David Otto, Alfred T., Thomas J., Helen, and Elizabeth.

86. See note 93 below.

87. David Mann Brant is the son of Robert Alston Brant.

88. Purchased home at 3131 Figueroa in 1899 six years after it was built by Aaron N. Oxmun, at a probable cost of \$80,000. The house contained hardwood paneling. The living room on the main floor was in cherry while the central stairs and hall were in fine grained oak. *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1956.

89. Los Angeles High School was located on Fort Moore Hill after being moved from Temple and Broadway in the 1880's. Robinson, *Panorama*.

90. This was Alfred Thomas Brant, who was born in 1883 in Hamilton, Ohio. He was for many years president of San Fernando Valley Walnut Growers Association. He graduated from the University of Virginia where he starred on the football team. He and David O. Brant operated the Brant Rancho. *Los Angeles Times*, April 1, 1942.

91. The California Institute of Technology had its origins in the 1891 founding of a Pasadena school of arts and crafts. Founded by Amos G. Throop, it was named after him, first Throop University and then Throop Polytechnic Institute. Included in the Institute were a college, a normal school, an academy, elementary school, and a commercial school. The trustees reorganized the institution in 1907 by separating the elementary department, normal school, and the academy which left only a college of technology conferring Bachelor of Science degrees in electrical, mechanical, and civil engineering. After 1914 the school name was changed to Throop College of Technology. In 1920 the college name was changed for the

last time to the California Institute of Technology. It remains today a privately controlled institution. California Institute of Technology, *Information for Students*, Pasadena, September, 1964.

92. David Mann Brant.

93. Robert Alston Brant was born October 29, 1894. He received his education at Los Angeles High School and the University of California College of Agriculture from which he graduated with a B.S. degree in 1918. He and his wife Jane Mann, whom he married in 1928, were the parents of three children: Robert Alston, Jr., 1929; Marilyn Jane (Mrs. Otis Chandler), 1931; and David Mann, 1934. He was a partner with his brothers in the Brant Rancho from 1919-1922. In this latter year he became associated with Title Insurance. He became secretary of Title Insurance upon the death of O. P. Clark in 1932 and a vice-president in 1951. He died while on a 1958 vacation fishing trip in Flat Rock, Idaho. He was riding horseback at the time. *Los Angeles Times*, September 16, 1958.

94. Senator John P. Jones of Nevada. He and Colonel R. S. Baker laid out Santa Monica in 1875. Robinson, *Panorama*.

95. Guillermo Andrade was born in Hermosillo, Sonora, in 1829. His education included attendance at colleges in both France and Spain. He returned to Mexico upon the death of his parents. One of his most prized ventures was the establishment of a steamship line on Mexico's west coast between Manzanillo and Guaymas. He obtained large concessions of land in both Sonora and the Territory of Baja California. In addition, he served as Mexican consul in Los Angeles. His death occurred September 17, 1905, in Mexico City. *Calexico Chronicle*, "Imperial Valley," Second Annual Magazine Edition, May, 1909.

96. Porfirio Díaz, president from 1876-1880, 1884-1911.

97. See the text and notes of the Introduction explaining the CRLC, the C-M, and the California-Mexico Land and Cattle Company, e.g., notes 5 and 6.

98. W. W. Robinson in his pamphlet *The Story of San Fernando Valley* (Los Angeles: Title Insurance and Trust Co., 1961) gives a brief history of the acquisition of the San Fernando Valley land. The south half of the valley was purchased on a 1909 option exercised in 1910. The area was known as Tract 1000. Surveyed by V. J. Rowan, the boundaries were the west line of Rancho Ex-Mission de San Fernando, the town of Lankershim (North Hollywood), Roscoe Boulevard, and the crest of the Santa Monica Mountains.

99. "Arnold D. Haskell was born in Connorsville, Indiana, June 6, 1895. While only six months old, he accompanied his parents to California, where he grew up in the Riverside area. In 1913 he was employed as secretary to General Moses H. Sherman, and came to be associated with many prominent Southern California pioneers. Following the General's death in 1932, Mr. Haskell (who was also one of the General's heirs) became executor and administrator of the estate. As well as heading the M. H. Sherman Company, Mr. Haskell, together with Mr. Harry



Chandler, in 1935 formed and headed the Chandler-Sherman Corporation, and during the years he has served as a member of the board of directors of Title Insurance & Trust Company, Yosemite Park & Curry Company, Rowland Land Company, Ardell Investment Company, and many others. About fourteen years ago, he established the M. H. Sherman Foundation to assist in a variety of worthwhile activities. A life-long love for the sea, joined with his many years of association in real estate development in Southern California, has centered Mr. Haskell's attention in recent years on the coastal area of Orange County." Letter of William O. Hendricks, M. H. Sherman Foundation, Inc., to Noel Stowe, July 26, 1965.

The Brant family liked Haskell very much and felt he attempted to be fair in the CRLC operation regarding the Brant Rancho mortgage. Also they felt he was trying to get as much out of the CRLC as possible. At one time he was referred to as "Hell of a good boy to play with. Smart and got the dough." Report of meeting with D. O. Brant and Arnold Haskell, July 24, 1933, Brant Files.





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# Judah Philip Benjamin in California

By EDGAR M. KAHN

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*From the Author's Collection*  
Judah P. Benjamin

THE CAREER of Judah Philip Benjamin reads like an Horatio Alger story. His life was the account of the progress of a penniless boy to a position of fame and power. Judah Benjamin was born of Jewish parentage on August 6, 1811, on the island of St. Croix in the West Indies, then a possession of Great Britain. The family migrated about 1813 to Wilmington, North Carolina, and by 1822 they settled in Charleston, South Carolina. At the age of fourteen Judah entered Yale and proved to be a good student. He left college without receiving a degree in 1827 and went to New Orleans where an ambitious, intelligent young man could achieve financial success.<sup>1</sup>

In 1832 Benjamin was elected to the Louisiana House of Representatives.<sup>2</sup> On March 2, 1849, he was admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court,<sup>3</sup> where he won thirteen of his first eight-

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een cases. In 1852 he was elected United States Senator from Louisiana. In the fall of 1860, enjoying the reputation of being a skilled trial lawyer and an authority on Spanish-Mexican mineral and land law, he came to California as special counsel for the claimants in the New Almadén Mine Case. He then cast his fortunes with the Confederacy and was appointed the first Attorney General and later served as Secretary of War. President Jefferson Davis raised him to Secretary of State, a position he held until the end of the Civil War. After General Robert E. Lee's surrender to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, Benjamin escaped to England. In 1866 he was called to the bar in England where he won distinction as a barrister.<sup>4</sup> Upon Benjamin's retirement in 1883, a great banquet was given by the English barristers in his honor. He moved to his Paris residence where he died on May 6, 1884, and was buried in the St. Martin and de Bousignac families' plot, Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris.<sup>5</sup> From the date of Benjamin's demise in 1884 to 1938 his grave was unmarked.<sup>6</sup>

Benjamin's life is an example of a man's determination to overcome almost insurmountable barriers by industry, perseverance, and intelligent use of a remarkable brain. He is epitomized as a foremost orator, lawyer, and statesman, without a peer at the bars of two of the world's greatest nations. His memory is kept alive by a number of biographies, probably the best ones have been written by Pierce Butler and Robert Douthat Meade; however, neither biographer adequately covered Benjamin's California experiences.<sup>7</sup>

It is for the purpose of filling this lacuna and for correcting errors concerning Benjamin's stay in San Francisco that this article was written—especially for counteracting the belief that he arrived in the city in 1847. In addition to the data available proving that he did not go West in 1847, there are newspaper accounts of his sojourn in San Francisco as a special counsel representing the company in the intricate New Almadén Mine legal controversy and of his address to the members and friends of The Church of the Advent in San Francisco.

Three writers appear to be primarily responsible for the inaccurate historical facts which this paper desires to rectify. The first of these authors is W. E. Meyers, who was neither a trained historian nor a contemporary of Benjamin. An extract from Myers' *The Israelites of Louisiana* states:



In 1847 a United States Commissioner was appointed to investigate the Spanish land titles under which the early settlers in California claimed their property and Mr. Benjamin as a counsel made a trip to the far West. Here he was counsel also for the Rothschilds in the famous New Almaden quicksilver mines case. On his return he was admitted to practice in the United States Supreme Court, and for a time much of his business was with that body at Washington.<sup>8</sup>

This error was picked up by H. H. Hagan, a lawyer, interested in Benjamin's legal accomplishments which he stated in an article in the *American Law Review*:

His [Benjamin's] knowledge of the Spanish language and his familiarity with the Spanish law proved of great service to him; and he was in demand in the many and infrequently important cases involving California land titles, serving in 1847 as counsel for the United States Commission. . . . It was in the New Almaden case that he received a fee of \$25,000 that was, for some time, a "mirabile dictu."<sup>9</sup>

The last of the three authors mentioned was Dr. Robert Douthat Meade, who wrote an almost definitive biography, *Judah P. Benjamin*, where the following statement appears:

About 1847 Benjamin was appointed counsel to the new California land commission and made the long journey by steamboat to the Pacific Coast. When he arrived in California it was only a year since the territory had been wrested from Mexico, but a vigorous and none too scrupulous American element was already working its leaven in the more placid native population. Among the difficulties that were arising were the many disputes over land titles granted under the former Spanish law: because of his familiarity with the diverse legal systems, Benjamin was well fitted to advise the American commissioner.<sup>10</sup>

Mrs. Connie Griffith of Tulane University Library clarified the source of this error in her letter to me concerning Benjamin's activities in California when she wrote:

We could find no document or letter among our holdings that actually proves Judah P. Benjamin's presence in California after his appointment as counsel for the California Land Commission. Other references to Benjamin's appointment use about the same wording that Meade does.<sup>11</sup>

Since the bill establishing the Federal Land Commission passed the Senate on February 6, 1851, and was signed by President Millard Fill-

more on March 3, 1851,<sup>12</sup> it is more than unlikely that any land commission was in California before that date. Thus there appears an inconsistency between when Benjamin visited California and the date on which the land commission was created.

Where did the error originate? In May, 1966, the author met with Dr. Meade at Lynchburg, Virginia, and asked the biographer of Benjamin about his sources for the above excerpt. Dr. Meade listed as his citations *The Israelites of Louisiana* and *The Times* (London) of May 9, 1884. There will be apparent a number of errors to students of California history in the garbled account in the otherwise reliable *Times* article entitled "Mr. Benjamin Q.C.":

In 1847 Sutter found the Californian gold mines, and a crowd of Mexicans rushed to pick up the flakes of gold shouting "Oro! Oro!" The year before the country had been annexed by the United States, and after the manner of their kind land-grabbers from the East had bought up the best lands, which otherwise would have become the property of the United States. The Republic appointed a Commission to investigate the intricate Spanish titles under which the speculators claimed. Benjamin and Reverdy Johnson went as counsel before the Commission, having [received] \$25,000 each on their briefs. Benjamin was impressed by the natural wealth of the soil, irrespective of the auriferous resources which gave such impetus to its development. What seemed yellow dunes stretched all along the shore as they passed up in their steamer. . . . He saw cattle grazing. . . . "Those yellow banks are hills covered with Indian corn, which here grows wild, and the cattle are feeding on the maize." He ate peaches in California from a tree which had been planted only 18 months before and had every reason to anticipate the great future which the State has now attained.<sup>13</sup>

In the *Times* story are a number of fallacies which later historians accepted without reservation. An appraisal of the excerpts reveals a number of misstatements. One is that Sutter found gold in 1847. Gold was discovered on January 24, 1848, by James W. Marshall at Coloma. That event caused the great migration of 1849 and of subsequent years to California. There were no Mexicans who rushed to pick up the gold flakes shouting, "Oro! Oro!" The discovery of gold was a closely kept secret by John Augustus Sutter and James W. Marshall.<sup>14</sup> The first newspaper notice of finding gold appeared on March 15, 1848, in the *Californian* at San Francisco.

The *Times* article alleged that "the year before the country had been annexed by the United States." Technically, California never was an



independent republic, but a territory conquered or stolen from Mexico. The Bear Flag Revolt at Sonoma of June, 1846, was started by a band of foreigners who had arrived in the country the year before and were not citizens of California. The movement was nothing more or less than a filibustering expedition.<sup>15</sup> The control of California by the United States is dated as of July 7, 1846, when Commodore John D. Sloat raised the United States flag over Monterey. On May 13, 1846, Congress declared war, President James K. Polk proclaiming that a state of war existed between the United States and Mexico. During 1847 California was ruled by two military governors, General Stephen W. Kearny and Colonel Richard B. Mason. In his correspondence Colonel Mason writes, "miscellaneous land claims will be settled when proper judicial tribunals are established in this country." In further correspondence he stated that the United States could ratify no land titles in California until her laws and courts were established in the country and that she did not pretend to exercise any rights that were not authorized by the laws of nations and the laws of war.<sup>16</sup>

The *Times* reference to Reverdy Johnson and Judah Benjamin as counsel relates to the New Almadén Mine Case which opened October 10, 1860, in United States District Court of Northern California with Judges Ogden Hoffman and Matthew Hall McAllister presiding. The citation to the peaches Benjamin ate which were grown from trees "which had been planted only eighteen months before," belongs to the 1860 date and not to 1847. The only peach trees found in California were probably planted during the period of the missions. This is most probable because peach orchards and fruit raising followed the decline of gold mining in the late fifties.<sup>17</sup>

San Francisco in the latter part of 1847 was a community of only 350 inhabitants.<sup>18</sup> If an important personality such as Benjamin had arrived, news of his coming would have appeared in the *California Star*. There was, however, no mention of such a visit.<sup>19</sup> If Benjamin came by clipper ship from New York the voyage would have taken from 110 to 126 days each way. The first passenger steamer, *California*, arrived on February 28, 1849.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, Thomas O. Larkin, confidential agent and later United States Consul, certainly would have met Benjamin, but there is no reference to him in the Larkin letters.<sup>21</sup>

In the study *The Clipper Ship Era* appears an item which makes it

unlikely that Benjamin disembarked in San Francisco or from any of the ships described:

From April 1847, to April 1, 1848, two ships, one barque and one brig arrived in San Francisco and in the course of this year nine whalers.<sup>22</sup>

Although no mention was made of the naval craft which entered the harbor, it was improbable that Benjamin travelled under orders from the Navy.

Still further indication that Benjamin was not in California in 1847 comes from the fact that he was not included in the detailed Pioneer Register and Index (1542 to 1848) compiled by Hubert H. Bancroft.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore some reference to Benjamin unquestionably would have appeared in the official state and federal records of 1847, but a check of the correspondence and government documents gave no such information.<sup>24</sup> Nothing is said of this illustrious person in the *Reminiscences and Incidents of Early Days in San Francisco* (1845-1850).<sup>25</sup> No comment on Benjamin as counsel for the United States Land Commission appeared in Allan Nevins' *The Diary of President James K. Polk*.<sup>26</sup> Since California was not as yet a state but ruled by military governors, no federal authority or commission could have been authorized by Congress to investigate land titles in California in 1847.

The California Section and the Law Library of the State Library at Sacramento have been searched to determine whether Benjamin served as a federal judge or as a counselor for a United States Commission. These offices were established in 1850 and 1851 respectively. Benjamin was not mentioned in these associations.<sup>27</sup> The only references to him were a letter requesting him to speak to a meeting of German-Americans and his reply refusing the invitation.<sup>28</sup> The other citation was a reporter's story of a speech he gave in Tucker's Academy of Music in 1860.<sup>29</sup>

In the National Archives the only reference to Benjamin in the State Department Branch was a copy of Benjamin's commission as District Judge of the United States for Northern California, dated September 28, 1850, and signed by President Fillmore and Secretary of State Daniel Webster.<sup>30</sup> Benjamin's appointment was confirmed by the Senate, but he refused the commission of \$3,500 a year because the salary was too small.



The fact that Benjamin was not on the Pacific Coast in 1847 working for the government is further confirmed by a search made in May, 1966, by me with the assistance of Buford Rowland of the Treasury Branch of the National Archives. I was interested in locating vouchers which would have been paid Benjamin for travel expenses to and from California as well as for salary checks as counsel; however, no evidence was found of any payments to him. The California Historical Society, Bancroft Library, Society of California Pioneers, and the California State Library also were searched for clues of Benjamin being in San Francisco in 1847; none were found.

There were four routes Benjamin could have taken: the overland trails, the paths through Mexico, around the Horn, and across the Isthmus of Panama. Benjamin was too occupied to take time on an uncertain and tedious journey. The Panama route was still in the planning stage in 1847. A steamship service between New York, New Orleans, and Chagres was inaugurated in the latter part of 1848.

What were Benjamin's activities in New Orleans where he lived in 1847? He was in politics, which would eventually elevate him to the Confederate Secretary of State. He made speeches and developed a local reputation as an orator.

In January Benjamin and his partners, Louis Janin and William C. Micou, were the defendant's attorneys in *New Orleans Draining Co. vs F. Lizardi* in the Louisiana Supreme Court.<sup>31</sup> In March Benjamin and Micou were the attorneys for Henri German in the New Orleans Fourth District Court.<sup>32</sup> Benjamin suffered from eye trouble and "relinquished much of his law practice to devote himself to sugar planting."<sup>33</sup> He addressed The Agriculture and Mechanics Association of Louisiana and wrote articles on improved methods of sugar production for *DeBow's Review*, a southern commercial journal. Samuel Packwood, one-half owner of Bellechasse Plantation and a practical sugar grower, joined Benjamin, the other owner and a theorist, in writing their ideas on the problems of the sugar industry.<sup>34</sup>

In 1847 Benjamin lived at Bellechasse Plantation, more interested in growing sugarcane than in the law. Two years previously, Benjamin's wife, Natalie, found life at Bellechasse not to her liking and left for Franc  with her five-year-old daughter Ninette. Benjamin saw his wife and child on his "almost annual" trips to Paris. His mother, Rebecca

de Mendes Benjamin, died in New Orleans on October 21, 1847, at the age of fifty-eight in a yellow fever epidemic.<sup>35</sup>

He had confident hopes that his plan to construct a railroad connecting New Orleans with Jackson, Mississippi, would materialize, but this proved to be a vision far ahead of his time. The second scheme was to carry the railroad straight across the Gulf of Mexico which divided the Pacific from the Atlantic. It was in the spring of 1850 the project got under way, but in 1847-1848 the plans were being laid out in Benjamin's mind.<sup>36</sup>

Thus far a number of collateral sources have been cited, the events taking place in California have been reviewed and Benjamin's interests in New Orleans have been listed. The incontrovertible fact is that Benjamin came west only once and that was in 1860.

When Judah Benjamin destroyed his letters and records, the treasured secrets of an important American statesman were lost. Benjamin never wrote an autobiography and desired that no biography be written. Therefore, the task of future researchers and historians was made exceedingly difficult and laborious. The reason he gave for not leaving behind letters that could be used in writing his life was that he had read many American biographies which reflected the passions and prejudices of their writers and he did not wish to leave material that could be used in such a work. This explanation accounts for mistakes about Benjamin's career which require time, patience, and perseverance to correct. Yet, corrections can be made.

Senators Judah Benjamin and Reverdy Johnson arrived by ship at San Francisco the first week of October, and they remained until the second week of November of 1860. They saw a thriving community of seventy-eight thousand.<sup>37</sup> Benjamin was already recognized as one of the ablest members of the Senate, a leading Southern attorney and an authority in Spanish-Mexican land titles. Reverdy Johnson of Baltimore was prominent as a lawyer and later was appointed Attorney General in President Zachary Taylor's cabinet. They came as special counsels and assisted Archibald C. Peachy of Halleck, Peachy and Billings, who represented the claimants in the New Almadén Mine Case. Because of Benjamin's familiarity with land claims and Spanish laws, he prepared the brief and made the leading argument. The case began in the United States District Court for Northern California on



October 8, 1860, with Judges Matthew Hall McAllister and Ogden Hoffman presiding. Archibald Peachy opened the argument for the owners, who spoke for a week. Edmund Randolph, born in Virginia in 1818, was a descendant of an eminent Virginia family and was retained in many important lawsuits. In the New Almadén Mine Case he represented the United States government.<sup>38</sup> He was assisted by Edwin McMasters Stanton, who came especially to California as special counsel to combat fraudulent land claims and help the United States government win a series of questionable victories.

The legal points of the Almadén Case are complicated, of interest to few, have been examined previously, and will be only briefly mentioned.<sup>39</sup>

The New Almadén Mine was located in the Santa Cruz Mountains southwest of San Jose and was one of the richest quicksilver mines in the world. In one of its many prosperous years, over \$2,000,000 of mercury was produced.<sup>40</sup> In 1845 General José Castro brought the cinabar deposit to the attention of Andrés Castillero who in good faith filed claims with the Mexican government through Alcalde Antonio María Pico at San Jose.<sup>41</sup>

The New Almadén Company in 1852 petitioned the Board of Land Commissioners for confirmation of their titles and of their right to two thousand square leagues in all directions from the mine's entrance. The government's case, as presented by Edmund Randolph, stressed that no proper title to the mine existed when California became a United States possession on July 7, 1846, and that their titles were antedated and forged.<sup>42</sup>

Mr. Benjamin argued his last important legal case in this country before becoming a Secessionist and subsequently escaping to Great Britain. He appeared before the judges on October 24, 25, and 26, ending his argument on November 5, 1860. Benjamin's style, his attempt to discredit and to ridicule Randolph's statements are demonstrated in the two excerpts from his argument taken from a 247-page volume of Benjamin's evidence:<sup>43</sup>

Mr. Benjamin:

I will answer for my brother Randolph. Nobody who knows him, could by any possibility suppose that he would make use of arguments which he did, if he had supposed we could overthrow them in the manner we have done. And that

makes my argument all the stronger, and shows him and the Court how dangerous is that style of argument in which my brother Randolph indulges all through this case; when he dwells upon certain prominent facts in general history which he supposes to be inconsistent with this particular case, without giving us any opportunity of explanation. We cannot explain the entire history of the country in this record. We cannot put in our record everything that occurred in Mexico and the United States for ten years, but must select only that which bears on this mine. And I trust that my brother Randolph will see himself, that arguments which he hourly draws from such facts as these, have no more foundation in the argument which he sought to draw from the supposed omission of these papers to speak of Fremont's affairs; that his whole fabric of similar arguments has just as little basis as the one which has just been destroyed and is now abandoned.

Mr. Randolph: No, sir. I abandon nothing.<sup>44</sup>

Mr. Benjamin:

Every official in the City of Mexico, whom we thought could be of use in explaining and verifying any of our papers, was brought up here and examined before the Court—and, need I say it, cross-examined. These cross-examinations are a part of the judicial history of the country—a remarkable portion. Upon that cross-examination I may have something hereafter to say. It is something totally unprecedented in the whole history of jurisprudence. Six or seven hundred questions to one witness are what is termed, in familiar language, a mere fleabite. That constitutes a mere commencement. Every possible thing which human ingenuity could devise, in the shape of a cross-question in such a case, is brought up and propounded. Men are not only asked their age and birth-place; their entire domestic relations are inquired into. They are asked where they went to school, who were their school-mates and school-masters.

They are asked whether they are the men they profess to be, and if they have proof of their own identity!

Castillo Lanzas is called upon the stand. My brother Randolph asks him: Who are you? What is your name? Can you prove that you are the person you say you are?

Well, I am Castillo Lanzas, is the reply. Mr. Buchanan knows me. I knew the whole diplomatic corps in London, when he and I were there together. It did not suggest itself to me to come here with certificates of identity. 'Who knows you here?' inquired brother Randolph. 'I think that there is a gentleman here by the name of Arce, who keeps a tobacco store, who knows me, and to whom I gave a passport in London.'

'Well,' says brother Randolph, 'I give you permission to summon this witness, in order to prove that you are Castillo Lanzas.' Now, my friend Mr. Peachy plays rather a scurvy trick. Brother Peachy pretended that he was very apprehensive that Castillo Lanzas would be proven to be not Castillo Lanzas. At least I



take this to be so, for he objected very strenuously. Brother Peachy would not allow of the introduction of this tobacconist on the stand. Brother Randolph then insisted upon his own right to bring him forward, and summons him in behalf of the United States. Well, in comes Mr. Arce. Castillo Lanzas is pointed at, and the question is put: "Do you know that man?" "Yes." "Who is he?" "That is Castillo Lanzas." "Where did you know him?" "I knew him in London. He was Mexican Minister there." "Well, now," exclaims brother Randolph, "who are you, sir? Who knows you?" That is the question next put to the witness.

[The Marshal had to call "order" in Court, the laughter and demonstrations of applause being very loud.]<sup>45</sup>

The litigation lasted twelve years, was in two district judicial bodies, and was finally decided in the Supreme Court of the United States. In January, 1861, Judges McAllister and Hoffman rendered a decision confirming the mine claim, but rejected the title to two thousand square leagues of land in all directions from the mine's entrance.

When the judges gave their opinion Benjamin summarized his experience that when one looks back at the mass of evidence, the transcript and the cross-examination of witnesses, the tedious arguments to the court, one would be astonished to see that six counsels have been so unprofitably occupied.

On September 26, 1861, Reverdy Johnson wrote to Benjamin asking him for his New Almadén Company brief and informing him that he would argue the case for Benjamin before the United States Supreme Court. This step was necessary because Benjamin was then a "Rebel" and could not appear before the Supreme Court of the United States. The entangled case finally ended on March, 1863, in a four to three decision against the Castellero claimants. The court held the owners were not entitled to the mine or two thousand square leagues adjoining the mine.<sup>46</sup>

Referring to the United States Supreme Court decision Hubert H. Bancroft, the California historian, declared, "three judges dissented from what was undoubtedly an unjust decision."

When the arguments were over but before the judges made their decision known, Benjamin on November 7, 1860, delivered an important address at Tucker's Academy of Music located on Montgomery Street in San Francisco, before a capacity audience for the benefit of the Church of the Advent. This church was founded in 1858 in San

Francisco and was on the south side of Mission near Second Street. The rector was the youthful Francis Marion McAllister, his brother Cutler was a vestryman, and their father was Judge Matthew Hall McAllister before whom Benjamin had argued the claimants' side of the case.<sup>47</sup> The local press carried no news items of the famous case after November 5, and the judges' decision was expected momentarily. The thoroughness with which Benjamin approached his case, and the willingness with which he addressed the church in which Judge McAllister was a member may have made a favorable impression on the judge. Benjamin gave his address the ponderous title "Upon the General Changes in the Practical Operation of Our Constitution Compared With Its Theory."<sup>48</sup>

Benjamin was prominent not only as a lawyer, but also as an occasional orator. He is best remembered in California for his legal acumen and forensic skill, but his address of November 7 had only a short press notice. He was at his best in political discourse. Pierce Butler, in his excellent biography, stated that Benjamin had the ideal voice—his style was concise and closely followed his subject.

The purpose of the lecture was to help his listeners understand the administration of government through a careful inquiry into the practical operation of our United States Constitution. Benjamin stressed that if the United States citizen comprehended the divergencies between the theory and operation of the constitution he could be prepared "for the proper discharge of that duty."<sup>49</sup>

Although Benjamin was frequently called upon to speak, he usually was not a lengthy speaker. On this occasion, however, his paper took about an hour and one-quarter and so rapid was his delivery, his apothegms so frequent and so full of the most flowery words, that it was difficult to follow him.<sup>50</sup> It required concentration to read Benjamin's speeches, because one needs his gestures, facial expressions, emphasis, enthusiasm, and smiles by which he was able to hold and to carry his audience. The paper in the final draft was carefully organized and written, but could be described as dull, based upon present-day standards. He did find the time, busy as he was before his departure, "to correct it so as to make it fit for publication." It is probable that Benjamin spoke from hastily prepared notes on a subject with which he was thoroughly familiar.



Benjamin gave the historical background and difficulties with which the framers of the constitution were confronted in the formation of the present system of government. He emphasized the zeal, wisdom, and patriotism with which the signers of the constitution entered into their labors, and he cautioned against the inducements held out to voters in the Presidential elections by unprincipled and ambitious politicians. He added:

A promise of office is as much a bribe as if it had been procured by money.

For myself I have ever been of opinion that no more pernicious source of evil exists to corrupt people, than the practice now universal with all parties of making an entire change in all the offices of the country, subordinate as well as chief, at each popular election, whether municipal, state or national: a practice so rooted as to be avowed by all, and acted upon as a proper rule of public conduct.<sup>51</sup>

Benjamin's political philosophy is further exemplified by the following quotation referring to the intrigues into which Aaron Burr entered in his attempted usurpation of the Presidency from Thomas Jefferson:

But here again recurs the question, are we, in the election of our Presidents, at all guided by the meaning and intention of the fathers? Do we select wise and prudent men, who, after consultation, choose some eminent citizen most worthy to fill that exalted office?<sup>52</sup>

One more example will suffice to indicate that Benjamin's oratorical style was involved and flowery.

But of all the agencies which have wrought inroads into true constitutional principles, none have been so destructive in tendency as those which have accompanied our vast acquisitions of public domain. Let me not be misunderstood. Let it not be supposed that I view otherwise than with delight and patriotic pride the development of our free institutions, their spread from territory to territory, from state to state; nor that I can look with aught but kindling eye and glowing heart and quick-beating pulse upon the majestic march of our union, which, like the great river upon whose banks I dwell, still pursues its resistless course into the unknown ocean which lies beyond, swelling as it advances, receiving its tributaries each distinct, yet each uniting in forming one common reservoir of wealth and power, and each, I trust, to remain so united, until all together are plunged into that mysterious gulf whose boundless waters mortal eye will never scan.<sup>53</sup>

In the October 9, 1860, issue of the weekly San Francisco *Herald* appeared a letter addressed to the Honorable J. P. Benjamin from over three hundred Democrats of German descent inviting him to speak. The renowned Senator from Louisiana was invited to address this group because they viewed

with serious apprehension any attempts of enemies without and traitors within, to disrupt the great Democratic party, which has always been the shield, bulwark and conservator of constitutional rights; and believing that these rights can only be maintained inviolate by resisting in its inception, any attack upon the constitutional rights of any and all sections of this, our common and adopted country . . . and beg leave respectfully to ask an expression of your views before us on the present position of political affairs.<sup>54</sup>

Benjamin declined, giving as his reasons that his time would be absorbed in the pending trial and that he would be visiting some of the important mining regions of the state. He concluded that if time would permit

I shall endeavor to the best of my ability to develop the causes which have led to the present division of the Democratic party . . . and to repel the absurd and self-contradictory charge that we seek to dissolve the Union by our steadfast support of the Constitution, on which it rests, that by diligently cementing the foundations of our political edifice, we are laboring for its destruction.<sup>55</sup>

The records show that Benjamin arrived early in October, 1860, and departed by steamship on November 10. On the same steamer en route to New York were Senators William M. Gwin, Edward D. Baker, and Reverdy Johnson who were returning to Washington.<sup>56</sup> With Benjamin's departure ended his only visit to California.

During Benjamin's brief visit in San Francisco he left two documents which serve to keep alive the memory of this illustrious individual. They are his arguments in the New Almadén Mine Case and his address before the Church of the Advent. Both items are found in the California Historical Society Library. In the quicksilver mine litigation he won distinction as a foremost attorney and in his stirring appeal for patriotism he will be remembered as a brilliant orator.



NOTES

1. Henri L. Gueydan, *The Life of Judah Philip Benjamin* (New Orleans, 1937), pp. 6-9.

2. *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 181.

3. Diplomatic, Legal and Fiscal Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C., Minutes of the Supreme Court of the United States, March 2, 1849 (Volume M, page 5945):

On motion first made to the Court in their behalf by Mr. Wm. Cost Johnson. It is ordered that . . . E. A. Hannegan Esquire of Indiana and J. P. Benjamin Esquire of Louisiana be admitted to practice as Attorneys and Counsellors of this Court and they were severally sworn accordingly.

4. *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 181-186.

5. Robert Douthat Meade, *Judah P. Benjamin* (New York, 1943), p. 379.

6. At the thirty-seventh Annual Convention in 1930 of the United Daughters of the Confederacy the President of the Major-General de Polignac Chapter No. 1743 in Paris, France, was advised that Judah P. Benjamin's grave was not identified. In 1938 Agnes de Polignac, President of the Chapter, wrote that the grave was now marked. Letter is in the author's Judah P. Benjamin collection.

7. Pierce Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin* (Philadelphia, 1907), and Robert Douthat Meade, *Judah P. Benjamin*.

8. W. E. Myers, *The Israelites of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1904), p. 26.

9. H. H. Hagan, "Judah P. Benjamin," *American Law Review*, XLVIII (1914), 369-370.

10. Meade, *Judah P. Benjamin*, 64-65. Personal correspondence with Dr. Meade on November 11, 1964, reveals that the Benjamin biography took over twelve years and that he made a particular effort to annotate properly. He cites in his notes to Chapter V the *Times* (London), May 9, 1884, and *The Israelites of Louisiana*, p. 26, as his sources for Benjamin being in California in 1847.

11. Mrs. Connie G. Griffith, Director of Manuscripts Division, Tulane University Library, on May 5, 1966, writes, "The research notes of Pierce Butler used to write his biography and his source for Benjamin's 1847 appointment comes from Henry W. Scott, *Distinguished American Lawyers* (New York, 1891), pp. 43-50,"

12. William Henry Ellison, "Memoirs of Hon. William M. Gwin," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIX (March, 1940), 182, note 46.

13. "Mr. Benjamin, Q.C.," *Times* (London) May 9, 1884.

14. John S. Hittell, *Marshall's Gold Discovery: A Lecture Before the Society of California Pioneers, in Pioneer Hall, San Francisco, January 24, 1893* (San Francisco, 1893).

15. George Tays, "California Never Was an Independent Republic," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XV (September, 1936), 243-244.

16. House of Representatives, Executive Document 17, 31st Congress, 1st Session, *California and New Mexico* Messages and correspondence relating to Washington, D. C., 1850: Richard Barnes Mason to Nathan Spear, San Francisco, June 4, 1847, pp. 319-320; Richard Barnes Mason to Jacques A. Moerenhout, Consul of France, Monterey, June 4, 1847, p. 320.

17. John E. Baur, "California Crops That Failed," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLV (March, 1966), 43.

The Franciscan Fathers introduced peaches, but not until the Gold Rush and afterwards did California fruits become famous.

18. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, M.D., and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 176.

19. *The California Star: Yerba Buena and San Francisco—Volume I, 1847-1848—A Reproduction in Facsimile* (Berkeley, 1965).

20. John Haskell Kemble, *The Panama Route 1848-1869* (Berkeley, 1943), p. 35.

21. George P. Hammond, *The Larkin Papers* (Berkeley, 1959), VI.

22. Arthur H. Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era, 1843-1869* (New York, 1911), p. 100.

23. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-1890), II-V.

24. W. Neil Franklin, Chief, Diplomatic, Legal and Fiscal Branch, National Archives, Washington, D. C., to Edgar Kahn, July 28, 1964, states:

A search of the records of the Department of Justice, the Fifth Auditor's Registers of Accounts, and the First Auditor's Audits of Accounts fails to reveal that Mr. Benjamin served on a United States commission to investigate California land claims or that he acted as counsel to such a commission in 1847. The establishment of a commission to settle private land claims in California was not approved until March 3, 1851.

Jane F. Smith, Chief, Social and Economic Branch, National Archives, to Edgar Kahn, April 19, 1966, states:

We have made another careful search of the records of the former General Land Office and of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior in the National Archives but have not found any information about Judah P. Benjamin in California in 1847-1850.

25. John Henry Brown, *Reminiscences and Incidents of Early Days of San Francisco (1845-1850)* (San Francisco, 1933).

26. Allan Nevins, *The Diary of President James K. Polk* (New York, 1929).

27. Allan R. Ottley, California Section Librarian, California State Library, to Edgar Kahn, March 4, 1966, states:

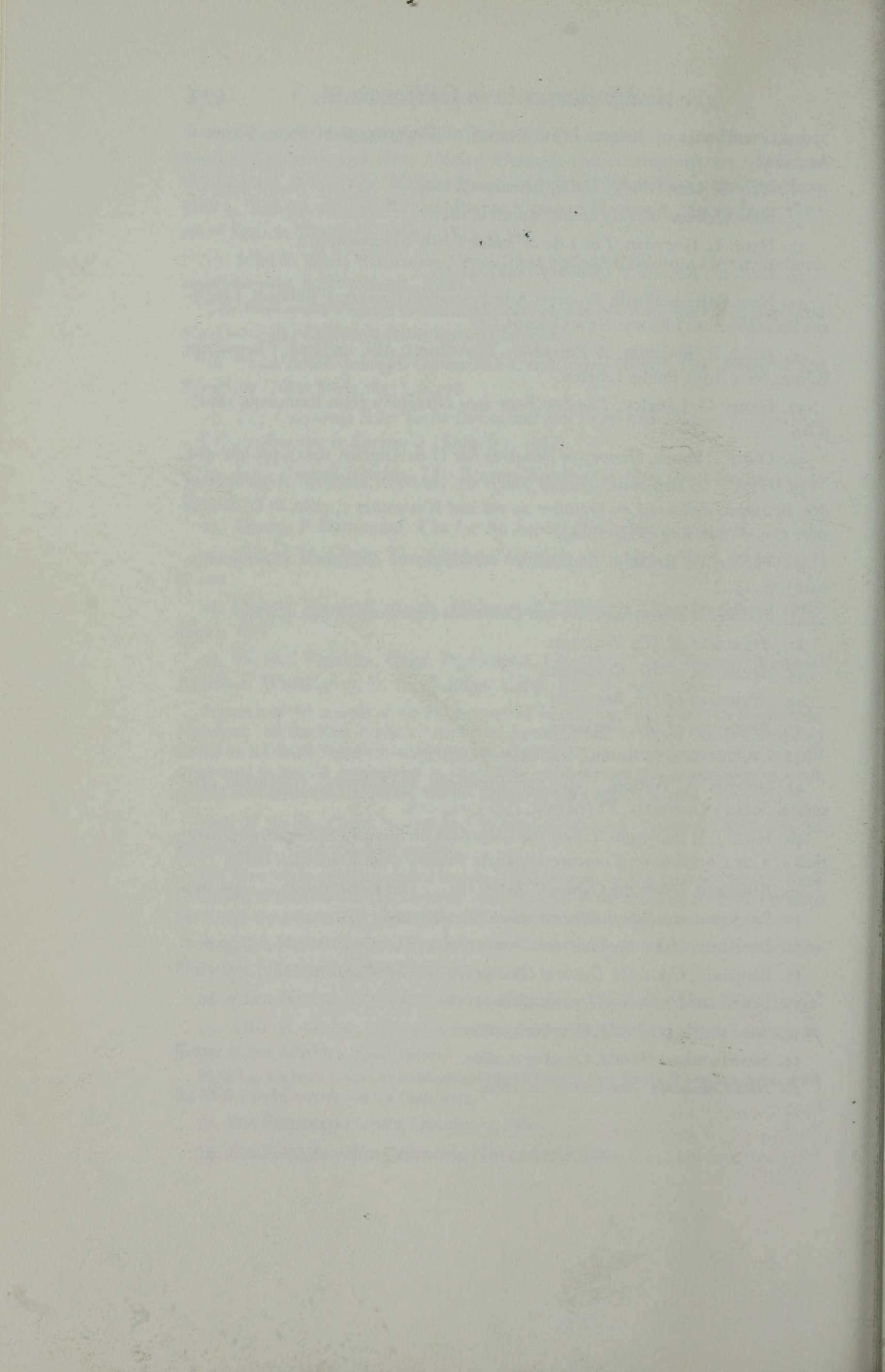
Nothing has been found to substantiate the statement that Judah P. Benjamin was with the U. S. Land Commission for California.

28. San Francisco *Herald*, October 9, 1860.

29. San Francisco *Alta California*, November 8, 1860.



30. Commission of Judges, I, 91, Record of Department of State, National Archives.
31. New Orleans *Weekly Delta*, January 25, 1847.
32. New Orleans *Weekly Delta*, March 8, 1847.
33. Henri L. Gueydan, *The Life of Judah Philip Benjamin*, p. 3.
34. *DeBow's Review* V (January 1848), 44-57.
35. New Orleans Works Progress Administration Cemetery Records, Louisiana State Museum Library, New Orleans, La.
36. Judah P. Benjamin, *A Pamphlet: The Grant*, MS, undated, Manuscript Room, New York Public Library.
37. Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco, 1860), p. 20.
38. Oscar T. Shuck, *History of Bench & Bar* (Los Angeles, 1901), pp. 482-484.
39. Hon. J. P. Benjamin, *United States vs. Andrés Castillero: Argument of Mr. Benjamin delivered on October 24-5-6 and November 5, 1860, in U. S. District Court* (San Francisco, 1860).
40. Walter W. Bradley, *Quicksilver Resources of California* (Sacramento, 1918), p. 156.
41. Milton H. Shutes, *Lincoln and California* (Stanford, 1943), p. 126.
42. *Argument of Mr. Benjamin.*
43. *Argument of Mr. Benjamin.*
44. *Argument of Mr. Benjamin.*
45. *Argument of Mr. Benjamin.*
46. United States vs Andres Castillero 67 U. S. 17.
47. Douglas S. Watson, "The San Francisco McAllisters," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XI (March, 1932), 124-128.
48. Hon. J. P. Benjamin, *Upon the General Changes in the Practical Operation of Our Constitution Compared with its Theory* (San Francisco, 1860).
49. Benjamin, *Upon the General Changes in . . . Our Constitution . . .*, pp. 8-9.
50. San Francisco *Alta California*, November 8, 1860.
51. Benjamin, *Upon the General Changes in . . . Our Constitution . . .*, pp. 8-9.
52. Benjamin, *Upon the General Changes in . . . Our Constitution . . .*, p. 11.
53. Benjamin, *Upon the General Changes in . . . Our Constitution . . .*, p. 16.
54. San Francisco *Herald*, October 9, 1860.
55. San Francisco *Herald*, October 9, 1860.
56. *Alta California*, November 10, 1860.





## BOOK REVIEWS

*Sawmills in the Redwoods: Logging on the San Francisco Peninsula.* By Frank M. Stanger. (San Mateo: San Mateo County Historical Association, 1967. 160 pp. \$9.50.) Reviewed by Merrill J. Mattes.

No symbol of the sovereign state of California could be more fitting than the majestic towering redwood tree, *sequoia sempervirens*. Patriotism, however, is only one of several emotions stirred by this forest giant. There is also awe and wonder at its unique scenic quality, singly or in cathedral-like groves. And there is the acquisitive urge, which destroys whole forests of these trees, converting them into rich red lumber and green paper money. Most of the historic redwoods were to the north, and they are at crisis stage—conservationists have drawn the battle lines for the remaining fraction. However, *Sawmills* is not a new polemic against today's logging industry but an engaging story about the vanishing redwoods of the Peninsula.

Although lumbering by axe, handsaw and ox-team in the Spanish and Mexican period had nibbled away at the big trees for several decades, the first of a legion of sawmills—powered by water, horses or steam engines—did not appear until 1849, when Charles Brown set himself up at Woodside. Despite floods, fires, bankruptcies, and the enormous physical effort involved in “gulching out” logs from the deep twisting canyons, hundreds of outfits flourished with such success that the east slope was cut over by 1865, and all but patches of the west slope by 1885. This is the detailed story, “mill by mill and gulch by gulch,” of over fifty known sawmills. The territory in question is broken up into geographical chapters, such as Portolá Valley, Bear Gulch, West Union Country, the Purísima, the San Gregorio Basin, and Pescadero Creek, each with its distinctive topography and its peculiar set of logistics problems.

There are chapters also on the mudflats of Red Wood Embarcadero, which became Redwood City, the techniques of pioneer lumbering, the pecking order of the rough lumber camps, and the evolution of saws and sawmill machinery. There is the gallery of sterling characters to command our attention, the likes of Charles Hanson, lumber tycoon of Redwood City and Puget Sound; hard-luck Dennis Martin, on whose bankrupt mill site stands the Stanford University particle accelerator; impatient Colonel Jack Hays of the Texas Rangers and of the Mountain Home Ranch, who rowed himself across the Bay when the ferries did not suit his schedule; Dr. Tripp of Woodside, dentist, merchant, lumberman, liquor salesman, and civic pillar; and William W. Waddell (cousin of the Pony Express magnate) who built an oceanside wharf and a coastal railroad before being fatally wounded by a bear.

This is local history, but it is a model of how local history should be written. Stanger's work shows unstinting research, including hiking and jeeping throughout the rugged terrain to track down what's left of all those mills. He writes with buoyancy and good humor, is economical with words, and comes up with a fine

set of old photographs. The book itself is a beautiful job of printing and binding. There is only one complaint. Although the chapter maps are excellent, and the 1853 end-map has antiquarian interest, there is no regional map to orient those readers who may be unfamiliar with San Mateo County geography.

*Sawpits in the Spanish Red Woods, 1787-1849.* By Alan K. Brown. (San Mateo: San Mateo County Historical Society, 1966. 27 pp. \$6.00.) Reviewed by Merrill J. Mattes.

This slender volume is, in effect, a thematic companion piece to Stanger's *Sawmills*, and of comparable quality research, writing and binding. The facts concerning the pioneer timber cutting (*corte de madera*) on San Francisquito Creek near Woodside are meager but exceedingly colorful. This was the source of timber for San Francisco's Presidio and Mission, and settlements at Santa Clara and San José. In time the woods became infested with a strange breed, largely renegade American sailors, who found congenial self-employment, peace of mind, and drinking money as logging entrepreneurs. The primitive sawpits, with two men plying the long-handled whipsaw, could turn out about one hundred feet of logs or square beams a day, which took care of all requirements until "the beginning of the gold rush emptied the woods."

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*Ancient Hunters of the Far West.* Edited, with a Foreword by Richard F. Pourade. (San Diego: Union-Tribune Publishing Company, 1966. 207 pp. \$9.50.) Reviewed by Charles C. Colley.

The study of ancient man in the Southwest was the life work of Malcolm J. Rogers, late director of the San Diego Museum of Man. In over forty years of study he accumulated evidence dating back perhaps ten thousand years and extending from Southern California through the Southwest and as far north as the present southern border of Oregon. Following the Introduction by Richard F. Pourade, editor emeritus of the *San Diego Union*, a hitherto unpublished eighty-six-page, nine-part monograph by Rogers forms the heart of the latest book publication of the Copley Press of San Diego, *Ancient Hunters of the Far West*. Skillfully edited by Clark C. Evernham, managing director of the Museum of Man, and Spencer Rogers, chairman of the department of anthropology at San Diego State College, this work reveals new material on ancient hunters based on extensive research including studies of excavations, sleeping circles, primitive trails, and stone artifacts. The presentation is impressive in its depth, scholarship, and originality.

The book is fattened by related contributions of other specialists which follow the Rogers material. A section called "When Did Man Come to North



America?" was written by H. M. Wormington, curator of archaeology at the Denver Museum of Natural History. Emma Lou Davis of the University of California Archaeological Survey in Los Angeles added an article entitled, "How Did They Live and How Long Ago?" Clark W. Brott, curator of collections, San Diego Museum of Man, wrote a concluding selection on "How Stones Became Tools and Weapons."

Readers familiar with the Copley series on California history will find multiple authorship not the only change from previously published volumes written primarily for the layman by Richard F. Pourade. This, the sixth volume, is the only footnoted book in the series, and its technical vocabulary is immense. The work of every author is well written and researched, but there is enough diversity of style and complexity within each unit to give the feeling that this is a scholarly journal rather than a well unified book.

The same colorful format which distinguished the earlier writings of Pourade has been carried through to the current work which is presented as a "natural predecessor" to the historical series. This results in another beautiful book to the credit of the Copley Press, but unfortunately gives an immediate impression that the light approach of the historical series is also continued.

Serious students of anthropology will find much of value in *Ancient Hunters of the Far West*, but the casual reader who purchases it for pleasure and to increase his general knowledge is likely to be confused and disappointed by its technicality.

CHARLES C. COLLEY, whose fields of specialization include Indians and Southwestern agriculture, is archivist of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society.

*Ewing Young, Master Trapper.* By Kenneth L. Holmes. (Portland: Binfords and Mort, 1967. 180 pp. \$5.95.) Reviewed by Andrew Rolle.

The last score of years has seen a burgeoning of publication about such specific aspects of Western history as mining, ranching, lumbering, and—above all—the fur trade. We are a long way now from the days when Joseph J. Hill, Robert Cleland, and LeRoy Hafen were among the handful of scholars interested in the mountain men of the Southwest. Hafen's current multivolume edition of *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West* is planned to include biographies of more than four hundred fur trappers and traders. Dr. Holmes's study of Ewing Young, thus, is part of an historiography that has come to flower a century and more after the mountain men made their impact upon the history of the American West.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century's third decade onward, the North American fur trade reached unprecedented importance. Its bases were not only economic: trappers of peltry played a commanding role in the exploration of the continent. Travels halfway across the breadth of America—both to trap and then to sell furs—were standard for Jedediah Smith, Jim Bridger, and Ewing

Young. Despite the intensity of the fur traffic, its transitory nature has contributed to the scarcity of manuscript sources. The author of this book, over a period of ten years, has utilized the Sublette, Chouteau, and Ashley Papers at the Missouri Historical Society in Saint Louis (a pivotal center for serious research on the mountain man), also the Ritch Papers at the Huntington Library, and key materials at the Bancroft and other libraries. Indeed, his thoroughness in the use of sources is more outstanding than his skill in writing. As we all know, few historians achieve a graceful literary style of expression. This, because we are trained, primarily, to nail down brute, objective fact.

As to Ewing Young, he did history a great disservice, according to Cleland's *This Reckless Breed of Men*. Young seems to have kept no journals of any of his expeditions, left behind no biographical sketch, nor did he dictate a line of reminiscence. It is, therefore, most remarkable that a scholar like Holmes can have reconstructed the story so completely. His book is at its best when compared to that popularized genre of cheap hack work regularly ground out by both antiquarian and professional Western buffs. Reliable is the word that best characterizes this book, as its author leads us over the Young trail from his birth in Tennessee, onward via Taos, New Mexico, into California. Young was a trapper's trapper who roamed the Mexican and British borderlands of the West, restlessly involved in transforming the countryside into an area of permanence. Once the exciting days of his youth were over, he settled in Oregon's Willamette Valley. Such early trappers became immersed in such more workaday chores as constructing trading posts, corrals, mills, and subdividing the land. By the time Young died amid the greenery of his Oregon ranch in 1841, his type was fast disappearing. During some fourteen years of wandering he had become symbolic of those precursors of the overland pioneers. More than wanderers or explorers, the Youngs, the Wolfskills, and dozens of other mountain men formed the true vanguard of Western settlement. Dr. Holmes's book helps us to fill in knowledge about a field that once was as barren of information as the deserts across which they moved.

ANDREW ROLLE is Robert Glass Cleland Professor of History at Occidental College.

*They Sang for Horses: The Impact of the Horse on Navajo and Apache Folklore.* By La Verne Harrell Clark. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1966. \$12.00.) Reviewed by John L. Kessell.

In the early days they walked. And Deer Hunter stooped under the burden of venison slung across his back. Enemy Killer's feet hurt even before he met his distant foe. Then, in the seventeenth of the White Man's centuries, all that was changed. He Who Walked, who filled his belly with the first of the heavy-hoofed animals he captured, had dared to pull himself up onto one not yet butchered, and he had become to his delight He Who Rode. Within a generation or two the Navajo and the Apache were transformed into horse people. How this revo-



lution came to pass and how it affected every one of them, they were never at a loss to explain. Their stories told how the gods, long the possessors of marvelous fleet horses, had finally consented to share with mortals "that by means of which people live." They told how an error on the part of one of their own heroic ancestors led to the earlier acquisition of this gift of the gods by the White man. Into their traditional mythology, to take his place alongside Bear and Antelope and Frog, entered the new animal around which the peoples' lives would revolve for the next three hundred years—Horse.

In *They Sang for Horses* La Verne Harrell Clark, journalist, folklorist, and supervisor of the University of Arizona's Ruth Stephen Poetry Center, brings together the stories the Navajo and Apache have been willing to share with White men about Horse in their lives. She weaves her narrative skillfully of the various and often divergent horse tales collected by anthropologists and folklorists from Southern Athapaskan informants. To complement Mrs. Clark's appealing word pictures pre-eminent Southwestern artist Ted DeGrazia has contributed a magnificent full-page color rendition of the symbolic turquoise horse and a whole series of his spirited pen-stroke illustrations. One-half dozen additional horse paintings by Indian artists are reproduced in color and interpreted in the text. The book is large, nine by twelve inches, allowing a spacious format and a DeGrazia sketch in all the right places. The numerous notes to the text appear not at the foot of the page but in the wide outside margins. Doubtless, the people at the University of Arizona Press sang as they put the book together.

From birth to death, in sickness and in health, these Indians' lives came to be intertwined with those of their horses, real and unreal. "We used to walk because we were poor." When they rode they were rich. No chapter of *They Sang for Horses* is more fascinating than the one called "The Magic and Ritual of the Raid for Horses." Raiding became a "sacred mission," the way to stay rich, to replenish the herds, and besides, it was "a grand way to live." Historians grown used to accounts of Navajo and Apache depredations will find a new perspective here. Not that they will henceforth excuse the Indian horse thief, but at least they will better understand his motivation and his intense determination.

Today the Navajo and Apache are learning to tame a new kind of horsepower. If Mrs. Clark nostalgically laments the passing of the Indians' "great horse age" it is understandable. They Sang for Chevrolets will never have the same appeal.

JOHN L. KESSELL, whose *Baneful Guevavi: Jesuits in Arizona, 1691-1767*, will be published in the fall, is currently a graduate student at the University of New Mexico.

*Western America in 1846-1847: The Original Travel Diary of Lieutenant J. W. Abert who Mapped New Mexico for the United States Army.* Edited by John Galvin. (San Francisco: John Howell, 1966. 113 pp. \$7.50.) Reviewed by William N. Lyon.

Lieutenant Abert started west with Kearny in 1846, but had to lay out at Bent's Fort because he contracted the fever. When he finally arrived at Santa Fé, Kearney had gone on to California. Abert, along with Lieutenant W. G. Peck, then made a reconnaissance of New Mexico, going as far west as Acoma, and as far south as Valverde on the Río Grande. Then Abert started back for the states in late December, on an odyssey of hardship and disease, battling the fury of a Great Plains winter.

Although Abert graduated almost at the bottom of his class at West Point, his expeditions were a considerable intellectual achievement. His *Diary* is interspersed with quotes from Horace and Virgil, and he was carrying a copy of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* with him. He was an indefatigable collector of rocks, plants, and animals, and drew numerous sketches and water colors, some of which are reproduced here. This is at once a work for the specialist doing research and the generalist reading for pleasure. It is the very unmilitary diary of a military man.

This *Diary* can be read for itself. Abert's adventures (written in a low key), his interest in the search for new knowledge (through his collections of specimens), his descriptions of the beauty and majesty of the landscape are interesting. Here we are reminded of the problems of life on the frontier—of horseflies on the prairie, of the search for food, the sometimes fruitless quest of the hunters, of the cantankerous mule and the broken wagon. Abert did not see any of the war, but he saw men perish nevertheless. Some men did not survive the rigors of frontier life.

But we cannot get the full picture of Abert's sojournings, nor of the American occupation of New Mexico, simply by reading this *Diary*. One should also consult the official reports of Congress, i.e., Emory's more famous *Notes*, with Abert's *Report* (the Senate also printed Abert's separately) and indeed with Abert's *Journal* of his reconnaissance down the Canadian River a year earlier. To avoid the fragmentary character of the *Diary*, John Galvin, the editor, has included notes from the official reports, a great help to the reader.

This is a beautiful book. John Galvin, Warren Howell, Lawton and Alfred Kennedy, who conceived, designed, and printed it, have done a wonderful job. The book is not copyrighted, and the editor has invited any who desire to copy it to do so. What a magnanimous offer! But who would want to try and *reproduce such a magnificent production?*

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*The Great North Trail.* By Dan Cushman. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1966. 383 pp. \$7.95.) Reviewed by Donald Paul Greene.

Though scholarly elements are present, Dan Cushman has made a good, popular study of a behemoth of American trails, which he calls the Great North



Trail. Mr. Cushman is not introduced to many readers for the first time by his effort for he has published a number of books previous to this including the Book-of-the-Month Club selection, *Stay Away, Joe*. This was dramatized as the Broadway musical, *Whoop-up*. It is doubtful that *The Great North Trail* can readily be musically dramatized in its entirety. There are too many plots.

The Great North Trail, to Mr. Cushman, is more like a tree with many branches rather than a single trail. Early it was a migration route for men from Siberia across Alaska, down Canada and the United States and into South America. The book is little concerned with the area south of New Mexico. Even earlier, animals as the horse and camel, with American origins, trod the long northern path into Asia never to return. Those remaining behind were extincted. . . . Cushman calls the Great Northern Trail "The Trail of All Ages," perhaps a more appropriate name because the path has been used for millions of years and is a part of the present route of the Alcan Highway across Canada and Alaska.

The chapters are arranged chronologically but in a fashion which does not allow for the order of happening (as Chapter VIII, The Trail of the Three-Toed Horse), but which orders the sequence of discovery by man of the past century and one-half.

The main and branch trails include many activities of man and animal. The bone beds of long-extinct dinosaurs of Nebraska, Colorado, South Dakota, Wyoming, California, and Utah are located along the side trails in the light of their discovery leading to the work of two American paleontologists of the nineteenth century, Professor Othniel C. Marsh of Yale and Edward Drinker Cope, a wealthy collector from Philadelphia. These men competed, often in an unprofessional manner, in their efforts to gather and name large collections of fossilized animals. The haste in this work led Professor Marsh to classify one giant lizard with a very long neck only to have Cope point out that this was the animal's tail. There is humor of this nature, and of other varieties, in this nicely written book.

Among other trails explored is that bisecting the Great North Trail in Montana. For centuries this was an Indian trade trail and became, after the Civil War, the whiskey trade route. Another trail leads to Wyoming, and the Johnson County War is given several pages. The gold and silver camps from Nome to New Mexico are included, usually in relationship to the Great North Trail and its branches. The cattle industry, homesteading, and barbed wire are given attention whenever they impinge on the Trail. The buffalo trails and the men who followed these animals—first the Indian—and then the transplanted European-American and his carnage which led to the near-extinction of the *Bison bison*—are traced and the stories recounted. The Klondike Gold Rush and the difficulties of the Argonauts and of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police with the lawless element among the gold-seekers is told in exciting, yet reasonably accurate prose.

Sources for the book are given in the six pages preceding the Index. These are for the most part general works. Mr. Cushman's own experiences and his exami-



nation of persons and places pertinent to many of his stories probably throw more light than the secondary sources.

The reader of *The Great North Trail* should have at his disposal good maps of the United States and Canada. The few maps in the book are small and inadequate for the purpose of tracing the many trails and byways referred to in the text. To fully appreciate this potpourri of trails and paths, the reader would need considerable knowledge of geology, anthropology, and North American frontier history. However, the more casual reader will benefit and be entertained.

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# Book Notes

By ANNA MARIE AND EVERETT GORDON HAGER

*California Heritage* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Public Library, 1967. 22 pp. \$.20) is available from C. M. Wiesenbergl, public relations director, LAPL, 630 West Fifth Street, Los Angeles 90017. With a Preface by W. W. Robinson and illustrations from Leo Politi's *Bunker Hill*, this slender brochure, an informative book-list, provides an instant introduction for readers of all ages to a fine selection of Californiana.

Of particular importance to members of the Westerners are *Twelve Great Books: A Guide to the Subject Matter and Authors of the First Twelve Brand Books issued by the Los Angeles Corral of the Westerners* (1966. 46 pp. \$2.50), which was prepared by the noted bibliographer E. I. Edwards and is Publication Number 80 of the Los Angeles Corral, and *A Score of Years and Fourscore Issues: an Index-Guide to the Branding Iron and Keepsake Issues, 1947-1966* (8 pp. \$1.25), compiled by Arthur H. Clark, Jr., and issued as Keepsake Number 81. Both items, published by Westernlore Press, are available from Westerners Publications, P. O. Box 230, Glendale 91209.

*The Alaska Herald, 1868-1869* (Saratoga: R & E Research Associates, 18581 McFarland Ave., California 95070, 1967. 213 pp. \$9.00) is a fully indexed reprint edition of the first Russian-English newspaper published in North America. This fascinating small paper covered Alaskan and Western news as well as Russian and Slavonic affairs. The paper was anticzarist because of the sentiments of Agapius Honcharenko the editor, a Russian priest in conflict with his local church authorities. Honcharenko also authored the first Russian-English grammar book in America. Of particular interest to collectors of Californiana, the paper emanated from San Francisco and gives a keen insight into Russian-American affairs for that period. The Alaska Purchase, as well as excellent articles on natural resources, geography and local Indian-Russian population of Alaska are covered. Extra dividends found in the newspaper are the advertisements of various San Francisco merchants and shipping firms, as well as those of book stores and dry goods emporiums. This small paper originally was issued in 8½ by 11 size; and the reproduction, using a direct offset method, faithfully carries out the same size. Volumes II (1869-1870), III (1870-1871), and IV (1871-1872), all indexed, will be forthcoming from the ambitious R & E Associates.

*Prospector, Cowhand, and Sodbuster: Historic Places Associated with the Mining, Ranching, and Farming Frontiers in the Trans-Mississippi West* (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of the Interior, 1967. 320 pp. \$3.00) is Volume XI in the series currently being issued under the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings under the editorship of Robert G. Ferris. The book covers a recent survey of historic sites and buildings with a view to their being

marked for preservation and for proper historical coverage—over two hundred sites and buildings in eighteen Western States were visited and are described.

The fourth in a series on Western Forts by Herbert M. Hart, *Pioneer Forts of the West* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1967. 192 pp., \$12.95) presents stories of more than seventy historical sites, ranging from those that belonged to the Spaniards, English, Russians, and Mexicans to the official forts of the United States. Rare and current pictures, bibliographies and directories of various posts have been carefully collected and presented by Major Hart.

Of unusual attraction and interest to graveyard adventurers and those seekers of forgotten townsites and hallowed haunts will find much to interest them in Lambert Florin's new series covering historic graves of the Old West, *Tales the Western Tombstones Tell* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1967. 192 pp. \$12.95).

Another Alaskan item will be found in the readable history of the federally operated line, *The Alaska Railroad*, by Edwin M. Fitch (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967. 326 pp. \$5.95), which runs five hundred miles from Seward to Fairbanks and provides a strategic link in our national defense.

A new compact, well-designed book, bound in washable plastic simulated leather covers that will prove a real boon in making camping easier and more enjoyable for all camp cooks and "chief bottle washers" is Lucy G. Raup's *Camper's Cookbook: Recipes, Menus and Equipment* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1967. 200 pp. \$3.00). It is a rich source of two hundred distinctive, well proven recipes. Not only are recipes included but also a list of basic rations, ideas on light and permanent camping, and an invaluable list of food processors and suppliers.

Following along with the above theme is Russ Leadabrand's *Exploring California Byways, from Kings Canyon to the Mexican Border* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1967. 168 pp. \$1.95). Entertainingly prepared and well-researched, this is a compact travel guide for trips of one day's duration or a weekend along California's byways. Historical information as well as data on recreational facilities, campsites, hiking trails, and quality of roads make this guide an important glove compartment accessory for the motoring public.

*The Natural World of San Francisco*, by Harold Gilliam and Michael Bry (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1967. 256 pp. \$6.95), is a truly remarkable and fascinating book-tour of the natural setting and world to be rediscovered within the man-made city of San Francisco. It is definitely not a natural history treatise on San Francisco, but rather a sensitively created and planned tour providing sheer enjoyment for exploring the magical world of the natural wonders to be found within the City.

Coming southward one can discover charmingly depicted scenes of the Los Angeles Civic Center, Bunker Hill, Little Tokyo, the often discussed Grand Central Market, and the Bradbury Building in Leo Politi's splashy, vivid-hued *The Poinsettia* (Palm Desert: Best-West Publications, 1967. 46 pp.). How the holiday



and Christmas legends are observed in various homes within the confines of Los Angeles' interesting ethnic groups is portrayed in Politi's charming art work and will be enjoyed by youngster and adult alike.

Several publishing ventures from grass-root and local historically minded presses have appeared on the book collecting scene and merit mentioning.

*In the Gold Mines in '50, '51 and '52 as Remembered by John Berry Hill*, with a Foreword by Stanton Delaplane (Coloma: El Dorado County Historical Society Publication No. 3, P.O. Box 1, 1966. 40 pp., \$2.00), contains well depicted reminiscences of days spent in Webberville, Georgetown, El Dorado, and Placerville.

Ruth Hermann's *More Than Gold: An Authentic Story Never Before Told* (Grass Valley: The Union Publishing Company, 1966. 38 pp.) is based on her weekly "Trail Column" which appeared in the Grass Valley-Nevada City *Union*. It provides another vignette in the local history of the early Nevada City days.

*East of the High Sierra: The Ghost Town of Bodie, A California State Park, As Reported in the Newspapers of the Day*, by Russ and Anne Johnson (Bishop: Chalfant Press, Inc., 1967. 120 pp. \$2.40), is a well illustrated book of the historic former gold rush community. Bodie, a bleak and lonely collection of over 168 abandoned buildings, now a state park, provides one of the best remaining examples of a Mono County ghost town. The historic photographs provide an interesting contrast for the many views of present-day Bodie displayed in the Johnson book.

*Sierra Summit*, by Virginia Besaw Evansen (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1967. 246 pp. \$4.50), is written toward holding the interest of teenagers. In this Mrs. Evansen succeeds as she relates the first successful crossing of Western mountains into California by wagon based on the Stephens-Murphy-Townsend party's experiences.

There is an urgent need to bring together materials on the Inyo-Mono area and more particularly on Manzanar's World War II history. *I Remember Manzanar*, by John M. Gorman (Bishop: Piñon Press, 206 North Main Street, Los Angeles, 1967. 28 pp. \$1.50), contains plain-featured reminiscences of a childhood and manhood spent in the Owens Valley, compiled at the age of eighty years. In some respects it stands sadly in need of dates and additional amplification. This booklet has value because so little source material exists on this small area in the huge country of the Inyo-Mono.

Wonderful descriptive reminiscences of a Basque sheepherder of the Inyo-Mono region will be discovered in *1901—My First Winter in California*, by Alfred R. Giraud (Bishop: Piñon Press, 206 North Main Street, Los Angeles, 1966. 32 pp. \$1.00). This richly illustrated pamphlet is filled with little known photographs of Giraud and the region. It will serve as a splendid companion piece to Austin's *The Flock*.

Authentic stories, sketches, and personal reminiscences of early Orange County have been gathered together by members of the Quill Pen Club (an

Orange County group) in *Rawhide and Orange Blossoms* (Santa Ana: Pioneer Press, 301 North Parton Street, 1967. 360 pp. \$5.95). The writings of Fern Colman, Maude Rubin, Inez S. Pierson, Bertha Barron, Margaret Was, and Dorothy Garstang have been included. The result is a tastefully designed book which will serve as a necessary adjunct to any collection specializing in Southern California.

Colorful Laguna Beach, also in Orange County, comes into the limelight with an unusual grass-root publication compiled by Merle and Mabel Ramsey, *Pioneer Days of Laguna Beach* (Laguna Beach: Hastie Printers, 1967. 178 pp. \$7.50. Available from Dawson's Book Shop, 550 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles). Well presented is the history of this noted art colony and colorful community.

Of considerable value to students in the field of American diplomacy in the first half of the nineteenth century is *When the Eagle Screamed: the Romantic Horizon in American Diplomacy, 1800-1860*, by William H. Goetzman (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966. 138 pp. \$4.95 hardbound, \$1.95 paper). This is the third in a series of eight books on America's diplomatic history produced under the general editorship of Robert A. Divine. This volume is enhanced with a particularly fine Index and Bibliography.

*Turner, Bolton and Webb: Three Historians of the American Frontier*, by Wilbur R. Jacobs, John W. Caughey, and Joe B. Frantz (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965. 114 pp. \$2.95), is a compilation of three essays delivered at Western History Association meeting at Salt Lake City. Containing bibliographies of the three best known Western historians, the volume also has excellent photographs of each noted historian. Caughey's essay covers Herbert Eugene Bolton as teacher-historian, Jacobs depicts Frederick Jackson Turner's work in recording the dynamic element in American history, and Joe Frantz pays tribute to Walter Prescott Webb's influence as an independent scholar, rancher-writer-historian.

John Walton and LaRee Caughey present the story of agitation and pleadings for reform as a case study to persuade a public agency to perform a public service and end segregation in public schools. In their *School Segregation on Our Doorsteps: the Los Angeles Story* (Los Angeles: Quail Books, 1966. 104 pp. \$1.95 paper) the Caugheys plead for equality in educational opportunities and point to the only known solution—integration. Dr. Caughey is Professor of American History at UCLA and editor of the *Pacific Historical Review* while Mrs. Caughey serves as education chairman for the ACLU for Southern California.

From Lodi, California, a privately printed item has appeared, entitled *Custer on the Little Bighorn*, by Thomas B. Marquis (End-Kian Publishing Company, Mrs. Theodore Heil, 1021 South Lee Avenue, Lodi 95240, 1967. 56 pp. \$2.50). Dr. Marquis lived fourteen years on the Cheyenne and Crow reservations in eastern Montana, first as an agency doctor and later as full-time author. His daughter arranged and edited this new combined edition assembled from mate-



rials published earlier in six separate booklets. Many of the photographs are reproduced for the first time and are from Dr. Marquis' personal Custer Museum collection. The title page bears the notation "Eye Witness and Carefully Researched Accounts of Custer's famed 'Last Stand' Battle with the Cheyenne and Sioux Indians on June 25, 1876," which should prove enticing to the Little Big Horn battleground buffs.

*A Bag of Bones: the Wintu Myths of a Trinity River Indian*, by Marcelle Masson (Oakland: 5558 Taft Avenue, California 94618, 1966. 130 pp. \$2.50), is a gathering of legends. These mythological stories are of particular import in that they hold the only records embodying the history of these nonliterate people. This little book serves as a contribution to existing knowledge on the California Indian.

Although primarily biographical, this new work is a narrative of the life of a band of Paiutes living along the Humboldt River before and after the White man's arrival. Some important and traditional Paiute customs as well as rituals are described in *Karnee: a Paiute Narrative*, by Lalla Scott, annotated by Charles R. Craig (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966. 150 pp. \$5.25). Dr. Robert F. Heizer has contributed the Preface to this work.

Fictionalized biography accompanies Paul Bailey's earlier biography of the tumultuous life of the Ute Chief Wahker in *The Claws of the Hawk: the Incredible Life of Wahker the Ute* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966. 358 pp. \$5.95). Wahker plundered from the Colorado River to the Pacific, from Shoshone lands to Southern California and Mexico, and proved the greatest horse thief of all times. Bailey has written an exciting biographical study of a most enigmatic American who not only joined the Mormon Church but also served as bitter enemy to Mormons, Mexicans, Californians, and other Indians!

The Malki Museum in Banning introduced its first publication with the valuable reprint of the noted ethnologist David Prescott Barrow's monograph, *The Ethno-Botany of the Coahuilla Indians of Southern California* (Banning: Morongo Reservation, Malki Museum Press, 1967. 82 pp. \$6.50 cloth, \$4.00 paper. Available from Dawson's Book Shop, 550 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles 90017). Originally submitted by Barrows in 1897 for the degree of doctor of philosophy, this reprint is enhanced with introductory materials by Harry W. Lawton, Lowell John Bean, and William Bright, as well as by a splendid bibliography and a fine study of Barrows.

*Will James: the Gilt-Edged Cowboy*, by Anthony Amaral (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1967. 206 pp. \$7.50), is an honest and understanding study of the cowboy artist-author who died in 1942. Filled with fine photographs and reproductions of James' excellent sketches, it is enriched with a comprehensive bibliography of James' drawings and writings. This is a book to please art collectors in the field of Western Americana.

Jess G. Hayes' *Boots and Bullets: the Life and Times of John W. Wentworth*

(Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1967. 140 pp. \$4.95) contains snatches of experiences and reminiscences as witnessed by Wentworth spanning the years 1880-1954.

A product of twenty-seven years of research related to the romantic history of the great Spanish galleons will be found in William Lytle Shurz' reprint of *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1959. 454 pp. \$1.95 paperback). This study covers in a very thorough manner the history of the trade of those vessels which regularly made the five to eight month-long voyage across the Pacific between Manila and Acapulco from 1565 to 1815.

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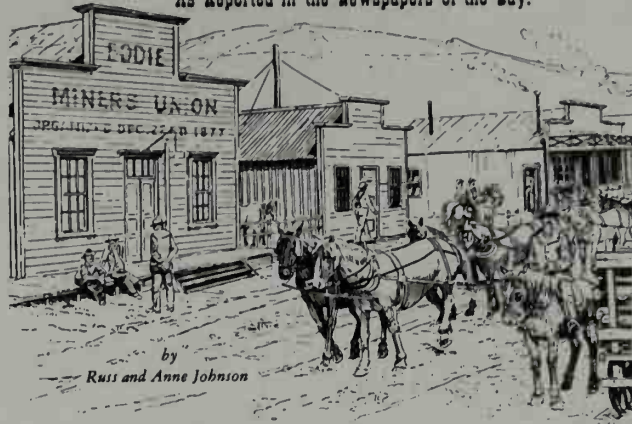
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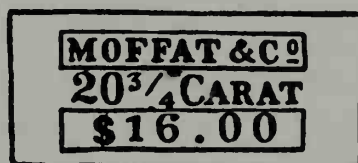
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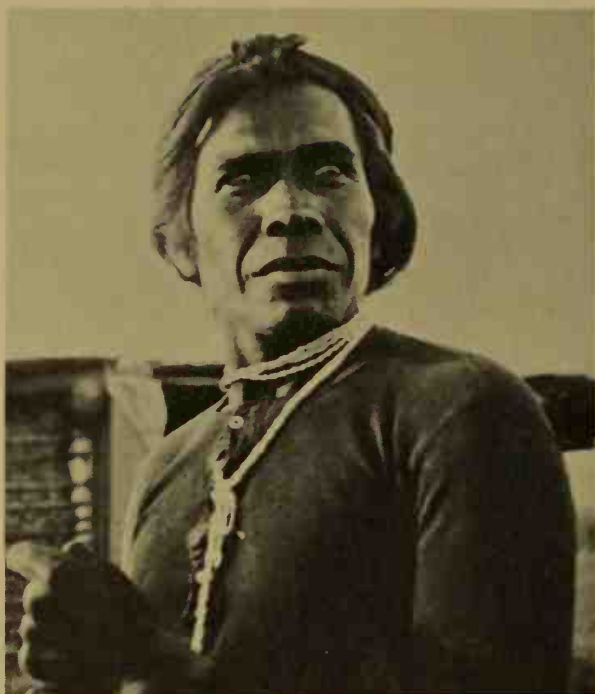
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SEPTEMBER 1968



from the  
Sierra Club . . .

## ALMOST ANCESTORS:

*The First Californians*

By *Theodora Kroeber*, author of the best seller

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For several years, now, the Sierra Club has been singling out some elements of wilderness that seem beautiful by today's standards, and that the club thinks will be important by any standards. Books have been published to celebrate wild places, to let people know about them, to elicit protection of the irreplaceables, to urge that civilization flow around the wilderness and not over it, to suggest that this wilderness holds answers to questions man has not yet learned how to ask. One of those books was about Navajo wildlands, and we managed to publish such a book without a single Indian showing, but with much of the country beautifully in view. Now it is turnabout—Indians, and no country at all. The faces here represent California tribes that white men exterminated—tribes whose elements were slowly gathered together, each one discrete, each one alive on a living land, and each one now gone. Empathy may not rise high when a piece of wild land perishes, but when a whole tribe vanishes, when fifty tribes disappear forever, we may well think that there but for the grace of God go we.

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Vol. XLVII

Contents for September 1968

No. 3

---

Democracy in Banking: The Bank of Italy and California's Italians 195

By Joseph Giovinco

*Wider Frontiers*—Questions of War and Conflict in American History:  
The Strange Solution by Frederick Jackson Turner 219

By Wilbur R. Jacobs

Pioneering Land Development in the Californias: An Interview  
with David Otto Brant 237

Edited, with an Introduction, by Noel J. Stowe

Edward Stanly: First Republican Candidate for Governor  
of California 251

By Norman D. Brown

More Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner, Including Tributes  
and Bibliographies 273

By Ruth Frey Axe

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# Democracy in Banking: The Bank of Italy and California's Italians

By JOSEPH GIOVINCO

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*Courtesy Bank of America*  
A. P. Giannini, 1896

SAN FRANCISCO, rather than New York, the world's financial capital, is the home of the world's largest bank, the Bank of America. This financial institution was originally named the Bank of Italy and situated in North Beach, the city's Italian district. Its founder, A. P. Giannini, established the bank to provide service for the little fellow—the man of humble origin who was ignorant of banking, but in need of a bank. He opposed the aristocratic notion of banking with its formality, conservative policies, and high interest rates and established the Bank of Italy on a democratic basis. There the little fellow was welcomed and respected, given the same service as the big fellow, and granted financial aid on easy terms. This article attempts to demonstrate the fundamental democracy of the Bank of Italy by focusing on its relationship with

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JOSEPH GIOVINCO, a doctoral candidate at the University of California at Berkeley, received his M.A. from San Francisco State College.

California's Italians, the group for whom the bank and its policies were originally created.

The history of Italian immigration to the United States helps to explain why North Beach, rather than the East Coast Italian colonies with their burgeoning population, degrading living conditions, poor employment opportunities, and internal strife, became the home of the Bank of Italy.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries over four million Italians disembarked on the shores of the United States.<sup>1</sup> These poor, illiterate peasants had gathered up their meager savings and bought passage to United States, the land of opportunity. There they hoped to accumulate sufficient funds so that eventually they might return to their native land, no longer *contadini* but *signori*.<sup>2</sup> Hence, they viewed the United States as a temporary home rather than as their *patria*.

In the United States these peasants remained on the periphery of society.<sup>3</sup> Because they arrived on the East Coast two-hundred and fifty years after the first European immigrants, the *contadini* encountered a well established society and were compelled to enter it at the bottom rung of the socioeconomic ladder because they were unskilled, except in agriculture. Even that occupation was closed to them because they did not possess the necessary funds to purchase and maintain eastern farms. Too poor to escape from the city, most Italians were forced to accept whatever work they could obtain, no matter how degrading or low paying. In the eastern cities, therefore, it was very common to see Italians employed as manual laborers, bootblacks, and organ-grinders.

Equally degrading were the peasants' living conditions. Their poverty compelled them to seek quarters in neighborhoods which bordered on the slums, if not themselves slums.<sup>4</sup> There they were crowded into deteriorating tenement houses which declined even more rapidly as the numbers forced to live in them increased with each new wave of immigrants. *Campanilismo*, an extreme provincialism, further prevented these Italians from uniting to improve their lot: they trusted only their fellow *paesani* and refused to live or associate with Italians from other regions of Italy. Consequently, "an Italian colony resembled a honeycomb; it had clearly defined boundaries which cut it off from the surrounding area; within it, there were numerous divisions, each inside a wall of its own, yet each one similar to every other."<sup>5</sup>



To many outsiders the Italians were merely "dagoes;" a backward people incapable of self-improvement and prey to vendettas and other crimes of violence. As early as 1890, the "dago" stereotype was well established:

The knife with which he cuts his bread he also uses to lop off another "dago's" finger or ear, or to slash another's cheek. He quarrels over his meals; and his game, whatever it is, which he plays with pennies after his meal is over, is carried on knife at hand. More even than this, he sleeps in herds; and if a "dago," in his sleep rolls up against another "dago," the two whip out their knives and settle it there and then; and except a grunt at being disturbed, perhaps, no notice is taken by the twenty or fifty other "dagoes" in the apartment. He is quite as familiar with the sight of human blood as with the sight of the food he eats.<sup>6</sup>

The provincialism of the *contadini* also made possible the existence of the padrone banker. These peasants were reluctant to patronize American banks because they were ignorant of the English language and American banking customs. They did not regard a bank as a place where money draws interest, but simply as a big safe where it could be stored until they wished to send it to Italy. Since American savings banks were unwilling to have deposits withdrawn at the end of one or two months, they were not interested in obtaining the peasants' business. For these reasons the *contadini* did business with their fellow villagers.

Soon, each colony had its own padrone banks.<sup>7</sup> Often located in a rented room of a grocery store, saloon, or restaurant, these "banks" used imposing names such as "La Banca Italiana" and "La Banca di Roma" to lure the unsuspecting. In their windows they displayed Italian and American currency, worthless Confederate money, and old express receipts.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to his "banking" services, the padrone provided postal services, and acted as the peasants' legal consultant and bondsman when the occasion arose. A typical padrone bank letterhead read:

Remittances in any sum whatever to all the post-offices in Italy, Switzerland, France, and Austria, in paper money, gold francs and florins, in the quickest and safest way. Telegraphic orders. Drafts, payable at sight, on all the principal cities of Europe. Notary public; legal advice free. Ocean and R.R. tickets. Intelligence office. Shippers by package post. Custom-house brokers. Depot for S. Antonino tobacco, imported, prime quality.<sup>9</sup>

The padrone banker performed many valuable services for the uneducated peasants, but also took advantage of their ignorance by extorting money from them. Moreover, the peasants' provincial loyalties, which were strengthened by the steady influx of new arrivals to the cities, enabled these bankers to continue to flourish and prevented the development of an "Italian" bank which could appeal to more than a faction of the colony.

Unlike the Little Italys of the East Coast, those on the West Coast (especially California) were lightly populated, more prosperous, and less provincial.<sup>10</sup> Located several thousand miles from New York, California was freed from the threat of large-scale immigration because few Italian peasants were able to afford the additional travel expenses. In place of the impoverished came more experienced Italian pioneers, some of whom had entered the state during the Gold Rush Era. Few of these Italians became miners, however. The need for clothes, food, and other supplies which the mining boom had created led many of them to become wholesale and retail merchants, hotel proprietors, and farmers.

Lumbering was also promoted by the Gold Rush. As the mines no longer proved profitable, some Italians turned to the cutting of timber, founding settlements in Fort Bragg, Scotia, Mendocino, and Eureka.<sup>11</sup> Others took advantage of the sparsely settled conditions of the state as well as their skill in farming, and purchased high quality land at moderate prices. The majority of these Italians settled in the Sacramento, Napa, and San Joaquin valleys where they engaged in viticulture and truck farming.

Unlike their eastern brethren, the Italians in California were here to stay. This is evidenced not only by the establishment of the Italian Chamber of Commerce of the Pacific Coast as early as 1885, but also by the number and value of their businesses and other holdings. According to Eliot Lord, a contemporary observer, 837 businesses, capitalized at \$17,000,000 were owned by Italians in 1897.<sup>12</sup> Another source maintained that they possessed nearly \$200,000,000 in real estate, \$8,000,000 in stocks and bonds, and \$34,000,000 in bank deposits by 1914.<sup>13</sup>

San Francisco contained the state's largest Italian settlement. Compared to the Italian colonies of the East, North Beach was lightly populated and relatively homogeneous in origin. In 1890 the settlement contained 5,212 foreign-born Italians, in 1900 there were 7,508, and in



1910 this number had increased to 16,919.<sup>14</sup> The majority of these Italians were from northern Italy, coming mainly from Liguria and Tuscany, with lesser numbers from the Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Marches.<sup>15</sup>

In the early years of the colony, *campanilismo* infiltrated the Italian social organizations. The Mutual Aid Society, for example, was composed exclusively of Tuscans, while the Ligurians dominated the Garibaldi Society.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the colony was divided along political lines. The affluent, conservative Italians were loyal to the Italian monarchy, while the poorer, more liberal element identified with Garibaldi and the republicans.<sup>17</sup>

Gradually, this provincialism was weakened by the lack of reinforcement through large-scale immigration to North Beach, while Old World political loyalties were replaced by New World interests and allegiances. By 1884 North Beachers were supporting an evening school which instructed their youngsters in the "Italian" language.<sup>18</sup> A decade later they established a branch of the Dante Alighieri Society for preserving and perpetuating the "Italian" culture.<sup>19</sup>

Economically, the North Beachers were relatively successful. Many of them came to San Francisco when property values were low, purchased land on the outskirts of the city, and converted it into truck farms. Others became commission merchants, fishermen, manufacturers, and industrialists. Prominent were Domenico Ghirardelli, founder of the Ghirardelli Chocolate Company, and Marco J. Fontana, one of the founders of the California Fruit Cannery Association.

The growing solidarity of San Francisco's Italian colony paved the way for an Italian to assert himself in the economic affairs of the city. The colony's slow-growing population, declining provincialism, and group prosperity led to the emergence of a number of Italian bankers. Of these, A. P. Giannini was to become the most distinguished.

In the Gold Rush Era California's financial life was primitive. "There were no Federal, State or corporation bonds, no easily recognizable real estate values, no reliable mercantile credit, nothing in fact to serve as a satisfactory basis for the trading in credit which is so necessary a part of banking activities."<sup>20</sup> Those who became bankers were unregulated and did not confine themselves solely to banking. Some were real estate operators, stock and bond brokers, and commission merchants.



*Courtesy Bank of America*

Construction of Bank headquarters at 1 Powell Street, San Francisco in 1920.  
A. P. Giannini and his daughter Claire in center



*Courtesy Bank of America*

The original Ferry Building, foot of Market Street, San Francisco, 1876





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*Courtesy Bank of America*

Newspaper ad of the Bank of Italy, 1920

**T**HE BANK OF ITALY has been, from its inception and is now, ready and anxious to make loans to people owning, or intending to build, their own homes—to the smaller mortgage borrowers who need \$1000 or less. ¶ The BANK OF ITALY has built up, its present reputation, its present enormous resources, largely through catering to the small depositor—the wage earner, the producer, the small business man, the man who owns a small home or a piece of improved property, the man who is the bone and sinew of Southern California's progress. ¶ This bank has never catered to speculators. ¶ To men of the home-owning type particularly, we hold out now the opportunity to effect a loan, the opportunity to borrow money on their small holdings. ¶ And in this bank there is no need for the payment of brokers' fees or commissions, no need for working through a third party, no expenses in connection with the drawing of mortgage papers. ¶ No cost of any kind.

Courtesy Bank of America

Newspaper ad of the Bank of Italy, 1913

By the 1860's the state had become more stable, and a number of savings institutions were established. In 1866 the *Alta California* was able to inform its readers:

There are more depositors than voters in our city [San Francisco], and many of the depositors are persons who reside in the interior towns and in the country. They find greater security and profit for their money in these savings banks than in any other mode of investment or use.<sup>21</sup>

After 1850 a pattern of immigrant banks was established. Of these, the Bank of Italy was to become the most prominent. In 1859 Irishmen founded the Hibernia Savings & Loan Society. In 1860 Frenchmen established the French Mutual Provident Savings and Loan Society. In 1868 Germans founded the German Savings & Loan Society. In 1893 the City's first Italian bank, the Columbus Savings & Loan Society, was organized by John F. Fugazi.



Fugazi had entered the United States by way of New Orleans in 1855. Residing briefly in Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and New York, he came to San Francisco in 1860.<sup>22</sup> There he held various jobs and in 1869 he established a travel agency in North Beach which represented the White Star Line and subsequently other steamship companies as well as the major railroad lines from San Francisco to New York.<sup>23</sup>

The Agenzia Fugazi also was a nascent bank. It transmitted money to Italy for its customers, and provided an office vault in which North Beachers could place their money for safekeeping. Finally, on January 18, 1893, John Fugazi and F. N. Belgrano, an importer and native of Sardinia, established the Columbus Savings & Loan Society<sup>24</sup> with an authorized capital of \$300,000, one-fifth of which was paid-in.<sup>25</sup> Among its directors was I. W. Hellman, Senior, president of the Nevada National Bank.

The policies of the Banca Colombo, as it was commonly referred to by Italians, were conservative. The bank maintained a tight credit policy, catered to large rather than small borrowers, and proved to be of little benefit to most North Beach residents. Nevertheless, the Columbus Savings & Loan Society persisted until 1923 when it merged with the Italian-American Bank, which had been established by Andrea Sbarboro.

Sbarboro, a Genoese, resided briefly in New York before coming to San Francisco in 1852. There he engaged in the wholesale grocery business and had dealings with many Italian storekeepers who lived in the mining regions of the state.<sup>26</sup> Gradually, this "penniless youth . . . rose by industry, fair and honorable dealings and strict rectitude to a commanding position in the community."<sup>27</sup> In 1875 he was instrumental in organizing the state's first mutual building and loan association. In 1881 he aided in the formation of the Italian-Swiss Agricultural Colony and its successor, the Italian-Swiss Colony.

Sbarboro helped to organize the first commercial and savings bank for the city's Italians. Because he and several of his friends believed that the Banca Colombo did not preclude the establishment of another Italian bank, they established the Italian-American Bank on March 16, 1899, with a capital stock of \$500,000, one-half of which was paid-in.<sup>28</sup>

The ethnic composition of the directors as well as the bank's location suggest that the founders hoped to appeal to a varied clientele and not

solely to Italians. Among the original directors were Henry J. Crocker, a pharmacist and brother of the founder of the Crocker Bank; A. Merle, owner of a plating works company (now the Simmons Bed Company); C. A. Malm, a manufacturer of trunks and suitcases; S. L. Goldstein, a founder of the California Fruit Canners' Association, who later resigned and was replaced by his business partner, Marco J. Fontana; Thomas J. Welsh, architect for the San Francisco Board of Education. Among the Italian directors of the bank were Andrea Sbarboro, its president; Alfred Sbarboro, his son and the bank's secretary and cashier; P. De Vecchi, an influential physician who catered to wealthy American patients; P. C. Rossi, president and general manager of the Italian-Swiss Agricultural Colony; and P. Barbieri, a prominent commission merchant.<sup>29</sup> Originally located at 518 Montgomery Street, close by the Italian colony, the Italian-American Bank moved to the corner of Montgomery and Sacramento streets in the city's financial district.

Because the directors hoped to lay the foundations for a colossal banking institution, they attempted to gain a controlling interest in the Columbus Savings & Loan Society, but failed.<sup>30</sup> When that institution merged with the Italian-American Bank in 1923 it became the bank's second branch in the Italian Quarter. In 1927 the Italian-American Bank consolidated with the Bank of Italy.

Andrea Sbarboro had included prominent non-Italian manufacturers, merchants, and professional men as directors of the bank in order to obtain business outside of North Beach. The desire of the directors to create a large banking institution led them to emulate the city's conservative, well-established financial institutions. Although the bank proved more accessible to small borrowers than did the Columbus Bank, it was not liberal in its loan policies. Laborers who had nothing more to offer as security for a loan than the calluses on their hands were not welcomed. In newspaper advertisements, the bank's advertisements, conventional and unimaginative, consisted simply of a financial statement. House to house soliciting for new accounts was viewed with disapproval.

The two Italian banks lacked a broad popular appeal. The Banca Colombo was too parochial and self-seeking, while the Italian-American Bank sought to become more American than Italian. North Beach,



therefore, could lay claim to two Italian banks but could not boast of a bank which catered to the majority of its inhabitants. The way was open for a man with a flair for banking. That man, A. P. Giannini, would establish a bank which would far out-distance any of its competitors, Italian or American.

In the 1860's Giannini's father, Luigi, immigrated to California from Favale di Malvaro,<sup>31</sup> a small village near Chiavari, province of Genoa. In California he engaged in truck farming with a fellow Italian, Paul DeMartini, who had come in 1861. Soon, however, Giannini, with a full money belt strapped to his stomach, returned to Italy to ask the hand of DeMartini's fourteen year-old sister Virginia. The newly married couple immigrated to San Jose where they became proprietors of the Swiss Hotel. There Amadeo Peter Giannini was born on May 6, 1870.

Within a year the family had saved enough money to purchase a farm in Alviso, not far from San Jose. After several years on the farm, Luigi Giannini was murdered by a farmhand in a dispute over a dollar debt, leaving his widow to carry on alone for a time before marrying Lorenzo Scatena, a native of Luca and a drayman by profession.

Since business conditions were better in San Francisco, in 1881 Scatena moved his family to North Beach and became a salesman for the commission house of A. Galli & Co. By 1883 he had organized his own produce company. Located in the heart of the produce district, L. Scatena & Company eventually became the largest in the state, lending money to farmers and merchants with whom it had dealings.<sup>32</sup>

The success of the firm was partly due to young Giannini. Throughout his life, Giannini was a go-getter. An avid competitor, he devoted his entire being to the achievement of success, first in the commission business and later in banking. As a youth soliciting business for his stepfather in the Sacramento, Napa, Santa Clara, and San Joaquin valleys, he secured the patronage of many ranchers and townspeople who previously had dealt with the big San Francisco commercial houses. In return for the business which he was able to bring to L. Scatena & Company, Amadeo, at the age of nineteen, was made a junior partner. But still he drove himself. "I kept on working hard, sticking to business, and not paying attention to anything else, like hanging around

with the boys, or going to parties or dances."<sup>33</sup> By 1901 the company was well established, and A. P. Giannini resigned because "nobody was fighting me any more. I think that's why I quit."<sup>34</sup>

It was not long before Giannini found a cause for which to fight, one he championed the remainder of his life. In 1902 his father-in-law Joseph Cuneo, a Ligurian who had immigrated to California in 1854, died.<sup>35</sup> Unsuccessful as a hydraulic miner, Cuneo had no better luck as a storekeeper in Amador County, and in 1877 moved to San Francisco where he made a small fortune in real estate. Subsequent to his death, the family decided to keep the estate intact under the management of A. P. Giannini, who was to receive a small fee for his services and his father-in-law's seat on the board of the Columbus Savings & Loan Society.

It soon became apparent that Giannini and the directors of the society would be unable to co-operate. Repeatedly they rejected his suggestion that the bank do more to attract and help the little fellow. More important was Giannini's hostility toward the directors' policy of self-enrichment through commissions and brokerage business originating in the bank. He felt this money should have been applied to the earnings of the bank for the benefit of depositors and stockholders.<sup>36</sup> When I. W. Hellman, the bank's advisor, refused to change this policy, Giannini resigned from the board of the Columbus Bank and proceeded to organize the Bank of Italy. Among the directors who resigned with him were Antonio Chichizola, an importer; George G. Caglieri, associated with the Fugazi Travel Agency; Giacomo Costa, president of the realty firm of Cuneo & Costa; and Charles Grondona, a realtor; Lorenzo Scatena already had resigned. In addition, James J. Fagan, vice-president of the American National Bank; G. B. Levaggi, an importer; Louis DeMartini, owner of a confectioner's supply house; G. Iaccheri, an undertaker; and Joseph F. Cavagnaro, an attorney were to be instrumental in the formation of the Bank of Italy. They were unlike Sbarboro, Fontana, and Fugazi whose involvement in large-scale business activities led them to lose contact with their fellow Italians. Instead, these men were proprietors of North Beach businesses, in intimate contact with the colony's Italians, understood their financial needs, and were identified with them.

On August 10, 1904, the Bank of Italy,<sup>37</sup> a commercial and savings



institution, was incorporated with a capital of \$300,000 one-half of which was to be paid-in immediately. The capital was divided into three-thousand shares of \$100 each, with first sales to the bank's promoters.<sup>38</sup> As a matter of policy, the ownership was to be broad so that many people would have an interest in its success and no one would have a dominant share. By opening day, the bank had 160 stockholders,<sup>39</sup> most of whom owned two, three, or four shares of stock. These stockholders, representing an occupational cross-section of North Beach, included a fish dealer, fruit salesman, gardener, pharmacist, restaurant proprietor, and wine dealer.<sup>40</sup>

Meanwhile, a board of eleven directors was selected. The new officers were Antonio Chichizola, president; A. P. Giannini, vice-president; George G. Caglieri, cashier; Charles Grondona, secretary; Joseph Cavagnaro, attorney. All officers were to serve without compensation until the bank's earnings showed a profit.<sup>41</sup> Only the three staff members were to receive a salary. These included Madeline Lagomarsino, stenographer; Victor A. Caglieri, teller; and Armando Pedrini, assistant cashier.

By late summer a committee consisting of Messrs. Levaggi, Caglieri, and Chichizola had been formed to select a location for the new bank. But it fell to Giannini to perform this task. He realized that the successful establishment of the bank depended on its appeal to the North Beach residents, some of whom had never been beyond the district. When Anania Quilici, the owner of a saloon in the heart of the colony, wished to retire, Giannini purchased his lease for \$1,250 and quickly converted the tavern into suitable quarters for a bank at a cost of \$5,295.<sup>42</sup>

On October 17, 1904, the doors opened for business. On that day \$8,780 were received in deposits.<sup>43</sup> Most of the first day's twenty-eight depositors were Italian tradesmen and a few relatives of the bank's founders. By December the value of deposits had increased to \$109,413.<sup>44</sup>

The Bank of Italy's loan policy differed from that of its competitors. A bank should serve the little fellow, believed Giannini. If he needed a small sum then the bank should make it available to him at reasonable rates. Putting this idea into practice, the bank made it possible for North Beach residents to obtain personal loans as small as \$25.<sup>45</sup> This liberal

policy enabled many Italians to reconstruct their homes and businesses after the earthquake and fire of 1906. Considering the limited resources of the "baby" Italian bank, not all loans were small, nor were they granted only to Italians. Indeed, the first loans recorded in the Minutes were to R. P. Burns for \$5,000 on property evaluated at \$8,500, and \$8,500 to George A. Webster, whose property was appraised at \$15,000.<sup>46</sup> The Minutes also list many other non-Italian names as early borrowers. Nevertheless, the majority of the bank's business was with Italians.

A maverick in its loan policy, the Bank of Italy was equally so in advertising. Since the typical banking advertisement had little appeal or meaning to the average Italian reader, the Bank of Italy began to employ eye-catching advertisements like the following:

#### ONE DOLLAR

It is not much—but it is worth saving. With one dollar you can open a savings account which may be the beginning of your fortune.

If in this moment you have one dollar which you may either spend thoughtlessly or place in a safe place, come to our bank and deposit it.

It will earn interest together with other funds which you may be able to deposit.

#### BANK OF ITALY

\* \* \*

#### IT IS NOT EASY TO SAVE MONEY

But when you succeed in doing so, it is prudent to place it in a safe bank, instead of hiding it in your mattress, where the thieves can steal it, or fire can destroy it.

Last semester our bank paid 3.80% interest on all savings accounts.

Open a savings account with us to-morrow, and when you have once started to save, we are certain that you will continue to do so.

If it is more convenient for you, you may correspond with us by mail.

#### BANK OF ITALY

632 Montgomery St.<sup>47</sup>



Giannini believed that people could not know what a bank could and would do for them unless they were told. He advocated soliciting new accounts on a door to door basis, and set the model for his colleagues by proceeding to drum up business, in either English or Italian, on Montgomery Avenue (later renamed Columbus Avenue), the produce district, and other areas where he was known. This devotion and willingness to work led some to say, "that while A.M. stands for the first half of the day and P.M. for the latter half of the day, A.P.G. stands for all day."<sup>48</sup> Equally devoted to the bank was the well-known and popular North Beach realtor, Charles Grondona, who aggressively solicited business throughout the district.

From an early date competition was keen between the Bank of Italy and the city's other Italian banks, especially the Columbus Savings & Loan Society. Not long after he had obtained a location for the new bank, Giannini proceeded to lease the Drexler Building where the Columbus Bank was located. The society evidenced its displeasure with this maneuver by moving across the street. To add insult to injury, Giannini lured away the Columbus Bank's teller, Armando Pedrini, by personally guaranteeing to double his salary.<sup>49</sup>

In retaliation, the Columbus Bank engaged in intrigue which led to the removal of two of the Bank of Italy's promoters, G. B. Levaggi and L. DeMartini. In May, 1905, Antonio Chichizola resigned as the bank's president. Informally, Giannini let it be known to the directors that he wished Lorenzo Scatena to be Chichizola's successor. But at the nomination meeting of the board of directors, Levaggi and DeMartini, both of whom had dealings with the Banca Colombo, nominated Giannini for the presidency. Giannini saw this to be an attempt by the Columbus Bank to divide the board and create dissension, and subsequently purchased the holdings of these two men.<sup>50</sup> In the following months the Bank of Italy began acquiring stock in the Columbus Bank in an unsuccessful attempt to gain control.<sup>51</sup> Eventually it disposed of these holdings, abandoning the effort to dominate the older institution.

Additional competition came from the Banca Popolare Operaia Italiana which was founded after the earthquake and fire. Because many Italian residents needed loans in order to rebuild their homes and businesses, F. N. Belgrano saw the possibilities for another Italian bank. Together with John F. Fugazi; Camillo Barsotti, a physician; Samuel

B. Fugazi, formally of the Fugazi Travel Agency; George M. Perine, president of the Renters' Loan & Trust Co.; Antonio Laiolo; and Carlo Soracco;<sup>52</sup> he established the Banca Popolare Operaia Italiana on November 3, 1906.<sup>53</sup> Incorporated with a capital of \$200,000, the bank was temporarily located in the Fugazi Travel Agency before moving to a permanent site at the corner of Montgomery Street and Columbus Avenue.

During the initial board meetings, the directors expressed the wish of eventually establishing branch offices in all the principal cities and towns of California.<sup>54</sup> By November, 1907, they had established a branch in Oakland.<sup>55</sup> Subsequent branches were created in Santa Barbara in 1912, and in North Beach at the corner of Stockton and Green streets in 1925.<sup>56</sup>

A. P. Giannini's interest in branch banking predated the Banca Popolare. Since L. Scatena & Company had run a branch business, Giannini felt the same thing could be done for banking.<sup>57</sup> He encouraged his fellow directors to expand the Bank of Italy beyond North Beach to the Mission district, an area which became heavily populated by Italians after 1906. Thus on August 1, 1907, the bank opened its first intown branch office at 3343 Mission Street.

In 1910 the Bank of Italy established its first out-of-town branch in San Jose, Giannini's birthplace and old stomping ground while in the commission business. There he was well-known, and was familiar with the town's financial condition and its need for a more liberal bank. When it was learned that the Commercial and Savings Bank of San Jose was in poor shape and that its directors wished to sell out, the Bank of Italy purchased that institution. Under the management of Giannini's brother, Attilio, the San Jose branch catered to the immigrant farmers, granting them small loans of a few hundred dollars to tide them over during the off season even when they did not possess sufficient collateral.

The San Jose branch also made it a policy to include at least one Italian-speaking employee. This was welcomed by those Italians who previously had been ashamed to use the bank because they could not make themselves understood in English. It also made them feel that the Bank of Italy was their bank. To strengthen this belief a local advisory board was created which included immigrant as well as Anglo-Ameri-



can names. Usually these immigrants were individuals of some importance in the community—people who could mix with their fellow countrymen and through their personal influence persuade them to become depositors.<sup>58</sup> Because of these policies the branch made it possible for local Italians to have a voice in its management.

With the continued expansion of the Bank of Italy, Italians in other California communities were to enjoy these privileges also. To understand the relationship between the bank and the state's Italians, it is necessary to look at the role played by the Bank of Italy's Italian department.

Originally a part of the Country Foreign department, the Italian department soon became a separate division under the guidance of Armando Pedrini, a northern Italian who had resided in South America before coming to San Francisco. There he worked for the local North Beach newspaper, *L'Italia*, and later was employed as a teller for the Columbus Savings & Loan Society<sup>59</sup> before the Bank of Italy lured him away. Pedrini was active in the affairs of North Beach from an early date. Not only did he organize the San Francisco branch of The Touring Club Italiano, but he also served as president of the Italian Chamber of Commerce and as Acting Consul General of Italy in San Francisco. His prominence made Pedrini the natural overseer of the Italian department.

Also connected with the department in its early years was Carlo Del Pino, its manager. A northern Italian, Del Pino had previously worked as a journalist and traveling agent for *L'Italia* before joining the Bank of Italy in 1917.<sup>60</sup> Since he was well-known in the Italian communities throughout the state, Del Pino was made a traveling agent for the bank, and subsequently the manager of the Italian department before being sent to the Bank of Italy's affiliated institution in New York, the East River National Bank. In 1919 he returned to journalism by purchasing the North Beach newspaper, *La Voce del Popolo*.<sup>61</sup>

Most important to our story was Pedrini's protégé, Robert Paganini, who managed the department during the twenties and thirties. Like Pedrini and Del Pino, Paganini was a northern Italian who had previously worked for *L'Italia*; he later moved to Sacramento where he organized the Italian newspaper, *La Capitale*, which he owned until he joined the Bank of Italy.<sup>62</sup>

Among the department's solicitors were Leo Ostaggi, a northern Italian, previously a travel agent for *L'Italia*; Amadeo Ponzio, a native of the Piedmont, and formerly an employee of *L'Italia*, *La Voce del Popolo*, and the Italian-American Bank; Pietro Romeo, a Sicilian; F. P. Tommasini, a central Italian from Abruzzi; Raffaele Crisci, a southern Italian; L. Filiasi, a northern Italian; Henry J. Nave, a native of the Bay Area and of Genoese parents; Joseph Marsili, a Californian of northern Italian stock; J. J. Taverna, Louis Valperga, C. L. Monge, and Louis Perna, all of whom were Piedmontese.<sup>63</sup>

The Italian department was composed primarily of northern Italians because of their higher rate of literacy (as evidenced by the number of solicitors who previously had been engaged in journalism). Yet the presence of central and southern Italian employees provided a cosmopolitan flavor to the department, which, in turn, reflected the policy of the bank. From the Bank of Italy's inception, its founders held to the philosophy that the institution's success would depend not on its attractiveness to Ligurians or Neapolitans or Tuscans, but on its appeal to Italians—all of whom could take pride in its growth. Carrying out this philosophy, the Italian department truly earned for itself the title, "Italian."

Many of the department's solicitors were native-born Italians. Because they tended to settle in Italian communities of the state, identification with the larger society proceeded at a slower pace. They continued to think of themselves as Italians rather than as Americans, and were willing to devote their energy to the expansion and financial success of an institution which bore the name "Italy" in its title. In turn, the people whom they solicited felt a certain pride at seeing the name "Banca d'Italia" on the window of the local bank. It also recalled for many the fond memories of their former homeland.

To patronize the bank was not only an act of banking, but also an affirmation of group identity. It was a way of contributing to the growth of an institution which would remind California and the nation of the greatness of the Italian people—people who had produced a Dante, a Columbus, and now a Giannini. A directory of Italian businessmen stated:

In October, 1492, the crew of three ships, which fate had rendered invulnerable to oceanic destruction, stopped joyfully in face of the New World. . . . From



the command bridge of one of the three caravels, a Man, hair blown to the wind . . . felt glory brush his face. He had been nourished on the food of the [Roman] Wolf . . . [and] came from the green hills . . . of Liguria: he was named Christopher Columbus and gave humanity a New World.

In October, 1904, in the World discovered by the Great Pilot, another Ligurian, another Man, from the determined Roman lineage, . . . marked by the mysterious sign, . . . surrounded like the Other by men forged of steel, laid the foundations, . . . on which would be built the grandiose edifice. This second colossal Ligurian was called Amadeo Peter Giannini: the edifice which he built bore a prophetic name: Bank of Italy.<sup>64</sup>

These Italian immigrants considered the bank to be the embodiment of all things Italian, and were quick to protest when it did not manifest its "Italianness." Not infrequent were complaints that the bank had failed to display the Italian tricolor in observance of an Italian holiday.<sup>65</sup>

The strong feeling of these immigrants toward the bank made it possible for the Italian department to secure the bulk of the state's Italian trade. In 1925, for example, it had obtained \$3,491,948 worth of new business, and secured 4,947 new accounts.<sup>66</sup> In the first ten months of the following year it had obtained an additional 3,424 new accounts and new business amounting to approximately \$3,063,000.<sup>67</sup>

At first, the crusade for new accounts was a local affair, but it was not long before Pedrini's disciples began spreading their missionary work throughout the state. Designated as special targets for the department's propaganda were communities which did not possess a local branch of the bank. Into these areas went the advance guard of the department, noting the general condition of the towns, their financial standing and principal industries, as well as the number of Italian societies which existed. The solicitors then proceeded to contact the local Italian inhabitants. Usually they visited the merchants during the day and the families in the evening, at which time most of the members were at home. Since many families housed boarders, it was possible for a solicitor to interview as many as forty-two people in one day.<sup>68</sup> During these visits, the agents would speak of the growth of the bank, the advantage of its Italian and Legal departments, the direct and speedy service available for remitting money to relatives in Italy, and the profitable returns obtained from Bank of Italy stock.<sup>69</sup>

In some respects the nonbanking services provided by these men resembled those of the padrone banker. They filled out deposit slips for

the uneducated, wrote and translated their letters, aided in filling out their income tax forms, remitted money, and explained to the people the appropriate procedure for obtaining naturalization papers. Unlike the padrone's services, these were done without charge.<sup>70</sup>

Once the Italian department had obtained information about a community, it assigned a permanent solicitor to the area. This was necessary because the Italians would do business with a man only when they had confidence in him, and this developed slowly. "[I]t is not a question of shaking hands, staying a few moments and then go [*sic*]," observed Robert Paganini, "but [one] must gain their confidence gradually by staying with them more than an hour sometimes and in many cases for lunch."<sup>71</sup>

When possible, the solicitor was assigned to a territory in which he was known. Normally, he was also from the same area of Italy as his clients (this was necessary for many Italians, unlike the bank, were provincial in their thinking). In addition, the agent was required to join the local Italian societies because their activities provided a means for making the acquaintance of many prospective clients as well as renewing previous contacts. It also demonstrated to the people that the bank had an interest in them and that it too was Italian.

Not always were the clients congregated in one location. Many Italians lived on ranches and farms which were situated several miles away from the neighboring farm. Noting this in his report, Pietro Romeo lamented, "The only way you can find someone is by going 6 miles east, 4 miles west [*sic*] 1/2 mile North etc., and then when you get there you . . . [often] . . . find an empty house."<sup>72</sup>

In those communities where a branch of the bank was located the principal function of the representative was to maintain the good will of the local Italian population rather than solicit business, which was the job of the branch officers. Visiting their homes, the department's representatives would inquire about the service they received from the local branch and listen to their complaints. Naturally, these visits were viewed with great pride by the Italians, for not everyone could boast of having *un banchista* as a guest. During these trips, the local bank official often accompanied the solicitor for it gave him an opportunity "to shake hands with people who handle good American money although they sometimes do not speak good English."<sup>73</sup>



In the final analysis it was this democracy which contributed to much of the bank's success. Since a large segment of the state's foreign-born population had been unwilling to do business with banks because banks had been unwilling to do business with them, the founders of the Bank of Italy established a democratic institution. By appealing to the ethnic pride of these people, treating them with consideration, and catering to their financial needs, the bank was able to secure their patronage. This democratic service attracted the little fellow of non-Italian origin as well. Indeed, by 1930 the bank had outgrown its immigrant status. No longer the Bank of Italy, it had become the Bank of America National Trust and Savings Association, providing service for thousands of little fellows throughout California.

#### NOTES

1. United States, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, 1960), pp. 56-57.

2. The English equivalents for *contadini* and *signori* are peasants and gentlemen.

3. For an account of the *contadini* in America see Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of The Uprooted," *The Journal of American History* LI (December, 1964).

4. The population statistics for New York City, Philadelphia, and Chicago exemplify the large number of foreign-born Italians living in cities. New York had 39,951 Italians in 1890; 145,453 in 1900; 340,770 in 1910. Philadelphia's Italian population was 6,799 in 1890; 17,830 in 1908; 45,308 in 1910; Chicago had 5,685 Italians in 1890; 16,008 in 1900; 45,169 in 1910. *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Population, I* (Washington, 1895), 672; *Twelfth Census of the United States: Population, I* (Washington, 1901), clxxvii, clxxviii, clxxix; *Thirteenth Census of the United States: Abstract* (Washington, 1913), p. 210.

5. Edwin Fenton, "Immigrants and Unions a Case Study: Italians and American Labor, 1870-1920 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1957), p. 40.

6. Appleton Morgan, "What shall we do with the 'dago'?" *The Popular Science Monthly*, XXXVIII (December, 1890), 178.

7. It is estimated that in the mid-1890's there were approximately 150 padrone banks in New York City. John Koren, "The padrone system and padrone banks," *Bureau of Labor Bulletin*, II (March, 1897), 126.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. The influence of Italian pioneers in settling the American West can be found in Andrew F. Rolle's "The Italian Moves Westward," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, XVI (Winter, 1966).

11. Francesco M. Nicosia, *Italian Pioneers of California* (n.p., 1960), unnumbered.

12. Eliot Lord, John J. D. Trenor, and Samuel J. Barrows, *The Italian in America* (New York, 1905), p. 144.

13. *L'Italia*, January 23, 1916.

14. *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Population*, I, 672; *Twelfth Census of the United States: Population*, I, clxxix; *Thirteenth Census of the United States: Abstract*, p. 210.

15. "Gli Italiani di San Francisco," *Edizione Annuale Straordinaria del Giornale L'Italia* (San Francisco, 1912), p. 44.

16. *La Voce del Popolo*, September 17, 1921.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. Ira B. Cross, *Financing an Empire* (San Francisco, 1927), I, 33.

21. *Ibid.*, 264.

22. A. Frangini, *Italiani in San Francisco e Oakland Cal* (San Francisco, 1914), pp. 17-18.

23. *Ibid.*, 19.

24. According to Alfred Sbarboro, the original plans for the creation of an Italian bank were proposed by his father, Andrea Sbarboro, to Fugazi and Belgrano. The latter, however, without informing Sbarboro, opened their own bank using the name which had been proposed by him.

25. Cross, *Financing an Empire*, II, 613.

26. *L'Italia*, December 18, 1915.

27. Italian-American Bank, Minutes, III (1922-24), 101.

28. Cross, *Financing an Empire*, II, 636.

29. Alfred Sbarboro to Joseph Giovinco, December 21, 1964; *San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco, 1899), p. 1775.

30. Having purchased Fugazi's bank stock, the Italian-American Bank attempted to win over I. W. Hellman. Hellman, at first receptive to the idea, later refused to sell his shares of stock. According to Alfred Sbarboro, F. N. Belgrano, who was to be removed upon consolidation, had scared Hellman by threatening to do everything in his power to ruin the bank's business.

31. Claire Giannini Hoffman to Joseph Giovinco, October 25, 1965.

32. A. P. Giannini to unknown interviewer, March 31, 1949, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.



33. *Ibid.*
34. A. P. Giannini to unknown interviewer, September 22, 1947, Bank of America N.T. & S. A. Archives, San Francisco.
35. Claire Giannini Hoffman to Joseph Giovinco, October 25, 1965.
36. Challis Gore, "Bank of America Chronology, 1904" (n.p., n.d.), p. 2, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
37. Originally, the name of the new bank was to be the Italian Bank of California. Because this title was similar to the Italian-American Bank, the latter filed an objection with the Secretary of State. Meanwhile, the Bank of California had commenced similar action. Thus, Giannini and the directors agreed to change the name. Italian-American Bank, Minutes, I (1899-1916), 62; Bank of Italy, Minutes, I (1904-1915), 1.
38. Marquis James and Bessie R. James, *Biography of a Bank* (New York, 1954), p. 14.
39. Anonymous, *Banca D'Italia*, pamphlet (n.p., n.d.), unnumbered, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
40. Gore, "Bank of America Chronology, 1904," p. 4, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
41. Giannini served without compensation for the first fifteen months of the bank's existence. Seldom, if ever, did he draw any salary which netted him more than his expenses. *Ibid.*, p. 12, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
42. James and James, *Biography of a Bank*, p. 15.
43. *Ibid.*, 16.
44. *Ibid.*, 17.
45. *Ibid.*, 18.
46. Gore, "Bank of America Chronology, 1904," p. 7, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
47. *L'Italia*, 1907, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
48. *Bankitaly Life*, II (April, 1918), 33.
49. James and James, *Biography of a Bank*, p. 16.
50. *Ibid.*, 19.
51. Gore, "Bank of America Chronology, 1904," p. 11, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
52. *San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco, 1905), pp. 243, 734, 1474.
53. Banca Popolare Operaia Italiana, Minutes, I (1907), 1.
54. *Ibid.*, 6.
55. *Ibid.*, II, 3.
56. Cross, *Financing an Empire*, III, 75.

57. A. P. Giannini to unknown interviewer, March 31, 1949, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
58. Louis Valperga to Armando Pedrini, undated, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
59. Frangini, *Italiani in San Francisco e Oakland Cal*, p. 40.
60. *L'Italia*, August 2, 1917.
61. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1919.
62. Renato Marrazzini to Joseph Giovinco, December 21, 1964.
63. Dorothy Trevisan and Renato Marrazzini to Joseph Giovinco, December 21, 1964.
64. G. M. Tuoni and G. Brogelli, *Attivita' Italiane in California* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 21.
65. Louis J. Tesio to Armando Pedrini, November 17, 1922, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
66. Pedrini Files, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
67. *Ibid.*
68. J. J. Taverna to Robert Paganini, February 13, 1926, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
69. F. P. Tommasini to the Business Extension Department, September 20, 20, 1922, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
70. Dorothy Trevisan to Joseph Giovinco, December 21, 1964.
71. Robert Paganini to A. A. Wilson, June 6, 1924, Bank of America N.T. & S. A. Archives, San Francisco.
72. Pietro Romeo to Robert Paganini, March 29, 1928, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.
73. Memorandum, L. G. Perna, undated, 1923, Bank of America N.T. & S.A. Archives, San Francisco.



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*Wider Frontiers—*  
Questions of War and Conflict in  
American History: The Strange Solution  
by Frederick Jackson Turner

By WILBUR R. JACOBS

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*Courtesy Henry E. Huntington Library*  
Frederick Jackson Turner

THE FIELD OF military strategy has always attracted American historians. One would, for instance, hardly have supposed colonial warfare to be an appropriate subject for a Puritan clergyman's attention; yet in 1676 Increase Mather published *A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians*. More than two hundred years later Alfred T. Mahan, who lectured at the United States War College, in 1890 published the first of an important series of studies on naval warfare entitled *The*

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*Influence of Sea Power, 1660-1783*, arguing for a strong navy and for a policy of mercantilistic imperialism.<sup>1</sup> His ideas concerning United States' role in spreading Christianity among backward peoples and his suggestion that war was an instrument for combatting wickedness in the world strike us today as naive and perhaps dangerous. Nevertheless, his work, which included volumes on the French Revolution and the War of 1812, displayed a rare grasp of the technological and strategic problems of naval history and influenced naval policies both in America and elsewhere. More recent works which deal with events of our own time are Samuel E. Morison's fourteen volume *History of the United States Naval Operations in World War II*, and an ambitious history of the *United States Army in World War II* (53 volumes, 1947-61) written by a staff of historians under the leadership of Kent Roberts Greenfield and Stetson Conn.

But scholarly activity has been largely confined to the analysis of particular military campaigns and to the occasional investigation of such topics as the political activity of military groups and the effects of the military on domestic and foreign policies.<sup>2</sup> The study of the phenomenon of war, as opposed to that of military strategy, has remained a byway of American historical scholarship. This lack of enthusiasm for investigating the underlying general principles is apparent even in the types of studies of World War I sponsored in the 1920's by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. From such a source we might reasonably expect a searching examination of the many sides of war; in fact, however, economic and social themes were stressed to an extent that virtually excluded diplomatic and military studies.<sup>3</sup> Nor did the American Historical Association make a profound impact on the study of war by sponsoring in 1941 a volume on *War as a Social Institution*, a collection of unrelated essays, many of them superficial.

War looms large in the imagination of most of us today. Francis Parkman, who wrote in the nineteenth century, gave us one of the most brilliant narratives we have involving military history. Since his time, writers such as Bruce Catton have continued the tradition of writing military history but few other modern writers have actually concentrated on the general subject of war as an institution in United States history. Why, then, we may ask, have American historians devoted so little consideration to this important subject? This question, perhaps,



may be best answered by a brief and necessarily sketchy examination of the American past through which I hope to show that our historians' greater concern with internal rather than external affairs stems from the particular nature of American history: the concern with domestic affairs characteristic of American historical scholarship mirrors, as perhaps it should, the concerns of a developing nation. I also hope to suggest that, in spite of the comparative neglect of the study of war, American historical scholarship has nevertheless concerned itself with closely related phenomena—a close and detailed analysis of conflict; this I hope to illustrate through special reference to the work of a man who has exercised an incalculable influence on contemporary studies, Frederick Jackson Turner.

Turning now to an examination of American wars between the time of independence and the beginning of the twentieth century, one is struck by the fact that the main issues which aroused the most emotion and which led, therefore, to the most bitterly fought wars, were essentially domestic ones. From the time of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 terminating the Seven Years' War (the world war in which England emerged victorious over France in North America) to the devastating modern world wars of the twentieth century, the major American wars were two essentially *domestic* conflicts. These were the Revolutionary War of Independence against England (our first civil war) and the Civil War of 1861-1865 that thwarted the South's movement for independence. The other wars fought during this period (a brief undeclared naval war with France, 1798-1801; a war against England, 1812-1815; the Mexican War, 1846-1848; and the Spanish American War, 1898-1899)<sup>4</sup> were, in comparison, of a more minor nature. During this pretwentieth century period, Americans were protected from foreign invasions by a weak government to the south, by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans to east and west, and by the great polar ice gap of the Arctic Ocean to the north.<sup>5</sup> Another factor during this period which helped to provide American security was the establishment of the balance of power in Europe after the Vienna Conference in 1815 and the existence of a powerful British Navy. After the Civil War, however, United States' geographical isolation rapidly became less important, and by the turn of the century, steamship and wireless had brought America close to the Old World.

But isolation, while it lasted, tended to encourage American self-absorption. Between the colonial period and the 1890's, Americans, despite the hardships of the Civil War, had been largely occupied with the conquest of their own continent, which included a whole series of Indian wars lasting off and on almost continuously for some three hundred years.<sup>6</sup> After each of the foreign wars, until the end of the nineteenth century, United States military and naval forces were rapidly and drastically demobilized—for the very good reason that foreign wars were primarily digressions from the main path of American endeavor: the conquest and settlement of America itself. Thus Americans, their attention fixed on opportunities at home, have not normally entered wars with any particular desire to enjoy the fruits associated with overlordship of an enemy nation. Nor had they any reason to covet their neighbors' land. After the acquisitions resulting from the Mexican War of 1846-1848, Americans had more than enough land of their own.

The outlook Americans have is not very different today. Americans have remained a practical people temperamentally disinclined to approve of the waste involved in war. Moreover, they are quite as much concerned with social and material progress today as they have been in the past. The "Great Society" which President Lyndon B. Johnson has put forward as the American goal is one in which all Americans will participate in the national wealth, so that differences between capitalist and worker, city dweller and countryman, will no longer divide the nation.<sup>7</sup> It is a goal which, with its concern for social justice and material wealth for all, binds the present with the American past.

Since the American desire for material progress is incompatible with the costliness and destructiveness of war, it is hardly surprising that American wars, like those of other nations, have often been brought about by a simple disregard for the will of the people; powerful minorities have sometimes carried the United States into wars which were only later supported by the majority of American citizens,<sup>8</sup> but this was not the case in World War I or in World War II. Indeed, it is notable that wars have seldom been embarked upon with the support of popular enthusiasm. American public opinion has never approved of a large standing army except in times of national emergency. In most of the sixteen or seventeen American wars (excluding the long series of con-



flicts with the native Indians), Americans have believed, rightly or wrongly, that they were faced with a situation in which failure to fight would result in certain defeat—in which war, therefore, appeared as the lesser of two evils.

In spite of America's increased participation in world affairs in this century and in spite of the ideological conflict in which she is embroiled—yes, even in spite of the Vietnam conflict—America retains her old aversion for the settling of international disputes by force. Thus an official rejection of methods of military coercion was certainly one reason for America's condemnation of the attack on Egypt carried out in 1956 by her English and French allies supported by Israel. However, we might add that America's view of war resembles that of other nations in the sense that most people prefer peace to war if they can get what they want through peaceful means.

Yet there is still evidence to show that the concept that war is morally wrong has always been nurtured by a strong and vocal element in American life—an element often motivated in its antiwar activities by religious convictions. Roger Williams and John Woolman, Puritan and Quaker of early American history, both condemned war on the grounds that it was unchristian, unreasonable, and unjust. In America, as elsewhere, every war has been followed by an upsurge of antiwar feeling, and even the jingoism of the period of the Spanish-American War was punctuated by the loud protestations of those who were not prepared to accept a policy of acquisition of foreign land.<sup>9</sup>

The following statement, made in 1897 by the Secretary of the Navy, John Davis Long, expressed the wishes of President William McKinley in suggesting a halt to naval expansion. Although the statement did not go unchallenged (by Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy), it did summarize nicely the attitude towards war which was the prevalent one in the United States until the end of the nineteenth century:

Our remoteness from foreign powers, the genius of our institutions, and the devotion of our people to education, commerce and industry, rather than to any policy that involves military entanglements, make war to be thought of only as a last resort in defense of our rights, and our military and naval establishments as a police force for the preservation of order and never for aggression.<sup>10</sup>

Thus American historians, looking back over their country's past, have noted the relatively unimportant role played by foreign wars; they have seen that at least until the end of the nineteenth century, when imperialistic ideas gained wide circulation, foreign wars held no great attraction for a people occupied with the development and exploitation of extraordinarily rich natural resources. And they have observed that America was, in any case, protected by its geographical position from foreign attack and from too easy involvement in foreign wars. As George Washington said in his Farewell Address of 1796, "Europe has a set of primary interests. . . . Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. . . . Why . . . entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European Ambition, Rivalship, Interest, Humor, and Caprice?"<sup>11</sup>

It is hardly surprising in the light of this background that American historians have devoted the greater part of their attention to what has been the prime concern of the people of the United States: domestic affairs. Nor is it surprising in the light of this background that American historians have frequently and vociferously opposed American participation in wars. Charles Austin Beard, for instance, was highly critical of what he called Woodrow Wilson's "creed of world interventionism" where "everything in the world is to be managed as decorously as a Baptist convention presided over by the Honorable Cordell Hull; if not we propose to fight disturbers everywhere (well, nearly everywhere)."<sup>12</sup> Beard considered Alfred Thayer Mahan, Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Albert J. Beveridge as "four of the most powerful agitators that afflicted any nation," agitators who had, moreover, manufactured the new idea of "imperialism for America." According to Beard, this doctrine was "'sold' to the country amid a great fright induced by the specter of Bryanism, and amid the din of wars on Spain and the Filipinos." Beard's special scorn was reserved for Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom he accused of involving America in the Second World War at the very time that he was assuring the people that peace would be maintained. When in 1940 Roosevelt reassured an anxious populace with the words "I have said it before, but I shall say it again and again and again: Your boys are not to be sent into any foreign wars,"<sup>13</sup> Beard was thoroughly incensed by what he considered the consummate hypocrisy of such a statement. But to condemn Roose-



velt was to distort the image of a great President (seeing "History through a Beard"), according to Samuel Eliot Morison.<sup>14</sup> Roosevelt was mainly concerned with the defense of freedom and the security of the United States in 1940 when totalitarian nations ignored international law and tore up agreements and treaties. Four years earlier in a speech at Chautauqua, New York, on August 14, 1936, Roosevelt spoke for most Americans when he said:

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.<sup>15</sup>

Because the idea of conquering another people has held little attraction for the mass of Americans, and because the United States has never been dependent on other nations for food products and other basic materials, isolationist thinking, usually lacking the high moral quality of Charles A. Beard's writings, has been fairly widespread. However, there are dangers of oversimplification in analyzing this question and there has been a tendency for historians to adopt a kind of blurred vision toward the whole question of war. It is true that we retain concepts that are antimilitary. We deplore the use of force. We consider ourselves a moral people and do not wish to conquer other peoples. Since this is all true, it is difficult to account for the fact that we have fought wars almost continuously and we have also become a nation through the use of force and we have conquered other peoples, including the American Indians. United States historians have never really attempted to come to grips with this ambivalence on the question regarding our actions and attitudes. There is no question that military conflict was involved in the expansion and growth of the United States to a position of world leadership. The crux of the matter seems to be that, although historians of the twentieth century have almost ignored the institution of war, they do not necessarily adopt the attitude that wars are unimportant in American history. They assign considerable importance to the military events of our major wars and at the same time tend to portray us as a peace-loving, peace-keeping nation.

Our attitudes toward war have been partly conditioned by our growth as a commercial power. A consistent isolationist dream of an

uninvolved United States has been from the republic's earliest days an important factor in American historical writing. This image has been slowly altered, however, by the reality of an America constantly growing as a trading nation. Indeed, we often became involved in limited wars, rather than total wars,<sup>15</sup> as our influence as a commercial power expanded.

United States' commercial "destiny," the desirability of extending her trade relations with other countries, were matters of concern to American leaders of the eighteenth century, especially Alexander Hamilton. By the end of the nineteenth century Mahan and others were urging a form of "enlightened" mercantilism in which America's industrial surpluses were to be sold to the nations of Asia and Hispanic America. President William Howard Taft in 1912 explained the role of business interests in determining American policies:

The diplomacy of the present administration has sought to respond to modern ideas of commercial intercourse. This policy has been characterized as substituting dollars for bullets. . . . It is an effort frankly directed to the increase of American trade upon the axiomatic principle that the government of the United States shall extend all proper support to every legitimate and beneficial American enterprise abroad.<sup>16</sup>

The building up of an American trading empire, making necessary a strong navy to protect lanes of commerce, also resulted in the development of new diplomatic relations with other countries. By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, commerce was acting ever more effectively as a counterweight to the earlier strong tendency for America to center its attention on developing its own resources and extending its own boundaries towards the west. The great period of *internal* development being over, America was ready to turn her attention to the world at large.

The various steps taken by the government to increase America's sphere of influence abroad received strong ideological backing at home. Americans were persuaded to support an expansionist policy that put Christianity and American institutions within reach of less fortunate people. Though the people of the United States had shown little desire to form an empire by means of military conquest, they proved susceptible to this call to duty, to the idea that as Anglo-Saxons they had a



moral mission to perform abroad. And so we find Josiah Strong, a minister in the Congregational Home Missionary Society in his widely read book *Our Country*, published in 1885, expressing the conviction that American Anglo-Saxons had a moral duty to carry to remote lands the institutions of civil liberty and "spiritual Christianity."<sup>17</sup> And in 1898 President William McKinley himself, well aware of the exhortations of the clergy and the yellow press, said, in reference to the American conquest of Spanish possessions, that he had first prayed to God for guidance; "There was," he concluded, "nothing left for us to do but take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died."<sup>18</sup> The overseas expansion of the 1890's has with some justice been called "the imperialism of righteousness."<sup>19</sup> This particular phase in American foreign policy came to an end with the First World War. Although the missionary spirit still lives on in some quarters, and particularly in right wing circles, there has been an increasing willingness to recognize that there is, after all, no hot line between God and the White House.

After the First World War the United States embarked on a new policy, as Walter Lippmann has observed, combining military and non-military foreign aid and involving money, diplomacy, and arms. Our transition to the new role of a great power in the 1930's and 1940's was marked by the Lend-Lease Act (aiding our allies during the Second World War), by the Marshall Plan, and by NATO.

At present, there is some concern over the powerful military-industrial alliance spawned by the huge military security program. Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower has pointed out that this complex, new to America, might exert "an unwarranted influence" on the government.<sup>20</sup> The fear of a development in this direction, allied with the more general antiwar sentiment previously discussed in this paper, has led to a closer study of the problems involved in turning over the large sector of the American economy at present devoted to war production to less dangerous areas of endeavor.<sup>21</sup> Many so-called "defense" industries are even now ensuring their own future existence as well as their present profits by developing nonmilitary products, often offshoots of military research programs. The consensus among those who have studied the problems of demilitarizing the American economy seems to

be that the problems are not insurmountable, though changes in public attitudes will be necessary in order to put into effect the necessary measures.

It has also been suggested that the glamor associated with wars increases the likelihood of their occurrence; the adventure and the promise of a new life which attracts young men to war might be embodied in more constructive activities. Young men might, as the philosopher William James suggested, find "moral equivalents for war" by serving their country for a year in clearing forests, building dams, roads, bridges, fighting disease.<sup>22</sup> In a sense, William James was the spiritual founder of the modern American Peace Corps.

But we have strayed far afield. Commercial imperialism may on occasion have achieved for America what has usually been achieved by force, dollars may have taken the place of bullets; but commerce is nevertheless not war, and American historians therefore have not found stuff enough to distract them for very long from those other conflicts (usually bulletless) which form the meat of American history—the internal conflicts in their own developing country. These conflicts have been described in varying ways. David M. Potter, in an article on the historians' use of nationalism, writes of the *interest groups* which divide a country in time of peace.<sup>23</sup> James Madison, writing in the eighteenth century, called such groups *factions*, and Charles Beard pointed out that in America such factions have tended to form along class lines.<sup>24</sup> Political scientists call these conflicting interests *pressure groups*,<sup>25</sup> and the modern sociologist often refers to conflicting *centers of power*. One such "center of power" is represented today by American military leaders, who, because of the scientific problems associated with modern warfare, tend to feel they are better qualified than the average politician to make policy decisions. The same demand for political power is, we are told, being made by military leaders in the Soviet Union.<sup>26</sup>

The historian who has described the conflicting groups in the United States with the most care is Frederick Jackson Turner.<sup>27</sup> Turner believed that American democracy was less the result of inherited European ideas than of the availability of free land, for the westward-moving frontier pulled settlers away from the East and from established patterns of thought and molded a new American type.<sup>28</sup> "Too great [a] stress has been laid on the democratic character of the immigrants to



America," Turner wrote. "Free land is the explanation at bottom."<sup>29</sup> Thus Turner saw the frontier as a force through which the motley mixture of settlers were welded into a nation, rather than petrifying into disparate groups whose differences might be the seedbed of future conflicts and wars. Turner called the distinct regions that did develop *sections*. These regional geographical units, following the wake of the frontier, resulted in a kind of segmentation of the young nation. The moving frontier meant that the eastern parts of the country were further along in their development (from frontier settlements to advanced industrial areas) than were the newly occupied areas of the West adjacent to the cutting edge of land settlement. "The frontier," said Turner, "has been passing decade after decade into new geographical Provinces or Regions, founding new regional societies, reacting with the environment to produce sectional ideas and traits differing in each region, and interplaying with each other."<sup>30</sup>

The force which drove the frontier westward was of course the insatiable desire for land, and this desire was not fed without bloodshed associated with various territorial adventures. The Mexican War and the unfortunate wars with the Indians were fruits of the settler's hunger for land. But the westward movement was not to be stopped, even by wars as bloody as these. Fortunately major nations were not plundered as the process of settlement continued.

Then came the gradual emergence of distinct sections whose characteristics and goals were widely divergent. The clearest and best known example of American sectionalism was marked by the development of the South as a power in national politics. During the colonial period the plantation owners of the interior had little sympathy with the Tidewater planters of the coast, but this rivalry lost its sting as the united South became one vast slaveholding section opposing the rest of the country. In this case, national unity was achieved only at the price of a bitterly fought war.<sup>31</sup>

In fact, sectional rivalries have played their part not only in the Civil War but throughout the country's history. The larger sections which emerged in the course of time (New England, the Prairie West, the Mountain States, the Lower South, the Pacific Coast, the Middle West) were actually subsections of the two great original sections, North and South. The complex sectional rivalries which developed as the country

expanded were seen by Turner to resemble the rivalries of the European states. Some of the European nations, Turner believed, were composed of internal sections, resembling those of United States. "Germany," Turner wrote in a letter of 1925, "presents a beautiful case of sections within *a nation*. I think," he added, "it is somewhat different from the sectionalism revealed so often in the United States, where distance (e.g. transportation) and space itself are factors, on a *continental scale*."<sup>32</sup>

That sectional differences within the United States rarely erupted into open warfare was mainly due, Turner felt, to the national political parties, which, cutting across sectional lines, prevented regional loyalties from disrupting too drastically the unity of the nation.<sup>33</sup> But the Civil War of 1861-1865 was a case in which sectional interests were so violently opposed that the bonds existing across sectional lines were powerless to stave off the resulting war.

Turner's piercing analytical mind enabled him to dissect the influences operating on a particular section, to see how the sections reacted on each other and how they affected the national policy. He described, for instance, the ways in which the desires of the older, richer, money-lending classes in the coastal areas inevitably clashed with those of the poor farmers of the interior, and how these differences were adjusted through political means. He did not scorn to use the tools of the other disciplines for the purposes of historical analysis, so that economics, geography, sociology, and psychology all play their part in his brilliant sectional studies. Above all, he realized the infinite complexity of the relationships existing within a section, between sections, and between nations. The variety of interests, backgrounds, concerns, even within a single country complicate the historian's job; the objects of his study have been influenced by schools, churches, newspapers, radio, television, by philosophical and political ideas, by economic conditions, and by international relationships. And as if this were not enough, historians are faced with conflicting bodies of historical evidence, with the bias of witnesses and of society itself, not to mention the historian's own bias. This complexity and variety convinced Turner that any one approach to historical interpretation must be insufficient. To discuss United States history purely in terms of the North-South division or in terms of class conflicts,<sup>34</sup> must surely be reductive. But every approach has



light to shed, and Turner himself tried to work from the broadest possible basis, excluding no possible avenue in his quest for historical truth.

Turner believed, as has been mentioned, that the sections were in many respects the American equivalents of nations, but unlike the European nations, American sections had managed for the most part to live in harmony with one another. Turner thought it likely, therefore, that if the American situation could be better understood in Europe, a similar era of peace might result for that troubled continent.<sup>35</sup>

More specifically, Turner envisioned a changed Europe in which the individual nations would relinquish certain of their powers to a supranational government, and in which political parties cutting across national boundaries would play the same binding role that national political parties have played in America. He believed that socialists, communists, conservatives, liberals, would all contribute to an international political party system that could prevent the world from being blown to bits in a catastrophic world war. To deny the existence of international political parties, according to Turner, was to ignore reality, for if the various political parties were not officially recognized by an international governing body, they would surely maintain worldwide ties by underground affiliations. As early as 1923 Turner wrote about a dreaded "chemist's bomb" which would be used in a future war.<sup>36</sup> It was urgent, Turner believed, that all measures be considered in a worldwide "strategy for peace."

The kind of supranational government Turner had in mind would have powers of various kinds: it might set up minimum wages and conditions of labor, it might regulate international commerce, it might even have a final decision in questions of war or peace. But Turner did not believe that the League of Nations, as it was actually constituted, could forge links strong enough to hold the nations together under the pressures which were sure to grow.

Turner's ideas on the ways in which *international* conflicts might be avoided by making use of the techniques tried out and found to be successful in the course of United States history were, of course, never put into effect, although Woodrow Wilson received a copy of a paper in which a number of these ideas were outlined.

But Turner's ideas on the ways in which *internal* conflicts might be

avoided were immensely influential in the programs of reform instituted by Franklin D. Roosevelt and his successors. Turner had recognized that with the closing of the frontier—with the disappearance of the supply of free land which, until the end of the nineteenth century, had been available for the discontented, the poor, and the adventurous who were prepared to try their luck at the edge of the civilized world—legislative programs would become increasingly necessary to protect and provide opportunities for a population no longer the fortunate possessor of a reservoir for advance and compromise in the West, sometimes called America's "safety-valve." The steady stream of measures of social and political reform in this century which has done so much to improve the quality of American life rests to no small degree on the theoretical basis provided by Turner's ideas concerning ways for keeping conflict in America at an unavoidable minimum. Turner's self-assumed task was to show the ways in which organized society had in the past and must in the future create machinery for solving conflicts not by violence, not by warfare, but through persistent political bargaining and compromise.

A great deal more might be said about Turner's ideas on sectional and international conflicts.<sup>37</sup> An attempt has been made here to describe briefly some of the ways in which American scholars have concerned themselves with historical problems of warfare and conflict, and in particular the way in which one of the greatest American historians concerned himself, not so much with warfare itself, but with the securing of a peace that would carry the community of nations into an era of co-operation and progress. Turner would be the first to agree that much more needs to be done to explore the historical processes connected with war and modern international relations. Above all, Turner believed that social justice was a key to establishing domestic peace in his country.<sup>38</sup> If an international government was established Turner was convinced that there would have to be some kind of political bargaining to make a portion of the richest resources available to peoples who lacked basic necessities.<sup>39</sup>



NOTES

1. See Walter LaFeber, "A Note on the 'Mercantilist Imperialism' of Alfred Thayer Mahan," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVIII (March, 1962), 684-685. The historic eighteenth century British policy of "commerce sword in hand" that impressed Mahan is analyzed by Sir Lewis Namier in connection with the East India Company in *Crossroads of Power* (New York, 1962), pp. 161-172.

2. Historians have, however, frequently discussed American attitudes toward war. See, for instance, Merle E. Curti, *Peace or War: The American Struggle, 1636-1936* (New York, 1936); Dexter Perkins, *The American Approach to Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 98-136; Louis Morton, "The Historian and the Study of War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVIII (March, 1962), 599-613. Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1942), is the foremost work on war as an institution published by an American scholar. One of Wright's interesting conclusions is that capitalism is a pacific kind of economic system. John U. Nef's penetrating volume *Western Civilization Since the Renaissance, Peace, War, Industry and The Arts* (New York, 1963) touches on themes in this paper in discussing European warfare. See pages 328, 351, 379.

3. See John Higham with Leonard Kreiger and Felix Gilbert, *History* (New York, 1965), pp. 46-51, for discussion on the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and an enlightening comparison between the history of warfare and the history of science as branches of American professional scholarship.

4. A partial list of "Wars of the United States" is to be found in James Truslow Adams *et al.*, eds., *Dictionary of American History*, 5 vols., (2nd ed.; New York, 1951), V, 411. See also Richard B. Morris, ed., *Encyclopedia of American History* (New York, 1961), pp. 25 ff. (for a more complete listing of American wars and conflicts), and David Zook and Robin Higham, *A Short History of Warfare* (New York, 1966), pp. 117ff.

5. The importance of the physical security of the United States is discussed by C. Vann Woodward in "The Age of Reinterpretation," *American Historical Review*, LXVI (October, 1960), 1-19.

6. See Arthur Meier Schlesinger's important essay of the 1920's "Geographical Factors in American Development," in *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1920), pp. 23-44.

7. See President Lyndon B. Johnson's Inaugural Address, *New York Times*, January 24, 1965, p. E 1.

8. Alvin Johnson in his essay on "War" in volume XV (p. 338) of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (Edwin R. A. Seligman *et al.*, eds.), 15 vols. (New York, 1949), argues convincingly that there is no evidence that any "people as a whole or by actual majority has willed to make war."

9. Curti, *Peace or War: The American Struggle*, pp. 302-303; Ray Allen Billington, "Middle Western Isolationism," Edward N. Saveth, ed., *Understanding the American Past* (2nd ed.; Boston, 1965), pp. 445-465.

10. Quoted by Marcus Cunliffe in "The American Military Tradition," *British Essays in American History*, H. C. Allen and C. P. Hill, eds., (London, 1957), p. 209.

11. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), XXXV, 221, 222, 224, 234. See also Alexander DeConde, *Entangling Alliance, Politics and Diplomacy Under George Washington* (Durham, N.C., 1958), pp. 504-505.

12. Beard, "Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels," *Harpers Magazine*, CLXXIX (September, 1939), 338-339; also quoted by George R. Leighton in "Beard and Foreign Policy," in Howard K. Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard, An Appraisal* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1954), pp. 166-167.

13. Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard, An Appraisal*, p. 183.

14. Samuel Eliot Morison, *By Land and By Sea, Essays and Addresses* (New York, 1953), pp. 328-345. See also Beard's *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War 1941: A Study in Appearances and Realities* (New Haven, 1948) and A. Russell Buchanan's judicious analysis of "The Coming of World War II" in *The United States and World War II (The New American Nation Series)*, I, 1-62.

15. Quoted in Ray A. Billington et al., eds., *The Making of American Democracy, Readings and Documents*, 2 vols. (New York, 1962), II, 349.

16. Quoted by Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard in *A Basic History of the United States* (New York, 1944), p. 353.

17. Merle E. Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), p. 671.

18. Quoted in Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Baltimore, 1936), p. 316. See also Alexander DeConde, *A History of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1963), p. 351.

19. See Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898*, pp. 279-316; Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother* (New York, 1961), p. 173 ff.

20. Eisenhower is quoted by the journalist Fred J. Cook in his book *The Warfare State* (New York, 1962), pp. 2-3. Cook argues that the vast United States defense establishment has resulted in a war economy.

21. See Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Economic Implications of Warlessness," in Arthur Larson, ed., *A Warless World* (New York, 1962), pp. 65 ff. See also Theodore Ropp, *War in the Modern World* (Durham, N.C., 1959), pp. 237 ff.

22. Curti, *Peace or War, The American Struggle*, p. 306; Mark A. May, *A Social Psychology of War and Peace*, published for the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University (New Haven, 1943), p. 9.

23. David M. Potter, "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa," *American Historical Review*, LXVII (July, 1962), 937 ff. See also Potter's



analysis of group character in his *People of Plenty, Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago, 1954), pp. 16 ff.

24. See, for example, Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *America in Mid-passage* (New York, 1939), pp. 555 ff., on the emergence of the American middle class.

25. Henry A. Turner, ed., *Political Parties in the United States, Readings on Political Parties and Pressure Groups* (New York, 1955), pp. 73-202.

26. Severyn Bailer, "The Men Who Run Russia's Armed Forces," *New York Times Magazine*, February 21, 1965, p. 14.

27. See Frederick Jackson Turner's essays on the frontier and section in *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920) and *The Significance of Sections in American History* (New York, 1932).

28. Turner's concept of the "frontier process" is discussed in Wilbur R. Jacobs, "Frederick Jackson Turner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History,'" *The American West*, I, (1964), 32-35, 78.

29. From Turner's "Notes on A[chille] Loria," HEH, TU, File Drawer No. 15, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino.

30. Quoted from "Introduction to a Lecture on Sectionalism" in Wilbur R. Jacobs, ed., *Frederick Jackson Turner's Legacy: Unpublished Writings in American History* (San Marino, 1965), p. 48.

31. See Turner's essay, "Dr. Von Holst's History of the United States," in Jacobs, ed., *Frederick Jackson Turner's Legacy*, pp. 100-101.

32. Quoted from Turner's letter to Charles H. Haskins, May 19, 1925, HEH, TU, Box 34, Huntington Library.

33. Turner stresses this point in his essays "Why Did Not The United States Become Another Europe?" and "Washington, the Nationalist," in Jacobs, ed., *Frederick Jackson Turner's Legacy*, pp. 109 ff.

34. The central theme advanced by Soviet historians writing on American history. See, for example, G. N. Sevostianov, ed., *Studies in the Recent and Contemporary History of the U.S.A. (Ocherki Novoi i Noveishei Istorii S Sh A)*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1960); Alexander Foursenko, *The American Bourgeois Revolution of the XVIII Century (Amerikanskaia Burzhuaznaia Revolutsiia XVIII Veka)* (Moscow, 1960). For a recent appraisal of Soviet writings on American history, see Max Belov, "Soviet Historians and American History," John Keep, ed., *Contemporary History in the Soviet Mirror* (London, 1964), pp. 306-314.

35. Turner developed these ideas in a series of fragments and drafts of essays in 1918 on the League of Nations. One of these is marked as a copy of an original sent to Woodrow Wilson. Uncatalogued materials, Turner Papers, Huntington Library.

36. "Notes for Shop Club Lecture, 1923—Winter," Turner Collection, HEH, TU, File Drawer 15, Huntington Library.

37. In 1923-1924, during his last year of teaching at Harvard, Turner made a wide-ranging investigation of available literature on war, peace, and population pressures. His notes and fragments of lectures are contained in several large folders. Uncatalogued materials, Turner Papers, Huntington Library.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.* Walter LaFeber's provocative volume, *The New Empire, An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1963), pp. 62-65, has a suggestive chapter on Turner's frontier theory as an important factor in encouraging American expansionism overseas. Professor LaFeber attempts to link Turner with the Reverend Josiah Strong, Brooks Adams, and Alfred Thayer Mahan as proponents of overseas expansionism and Anglo-Saxonism. The best general discussion of the frontier theory is in Ray A. Billington's excellent new volume *America's Frontier Heritage* (New York, 1966) which includes analyses of American "Migratory Compulsion," pp. 181-197, and American Behavioral Patterns," pp. 199-217.



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# Pioneering Land Development in the Californias: An Interview with David Otto Brant

*Edited, with an Introduction,*  
By NOEL J. STOWE

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## INTERVIEW CONTINUED

### THE BIG FIVE

THE SAME GROUP . . . the same five started the Los Angeles Shipbuilding Company,<sup>100</sup> and turned out liberty ships, you know, by the hundreds. [Of this group of five] . . . General Otis would be, you might say, the fountainhead. Then his son-in-law, Harry Chandler. Then they had a treasurer who was Frank Pfaffinger,<sup>101</sup> [who] was the treasurer of the *Times*. That was three. My father [O. F. Brant] and General M. H. Sherman. Sometimes there'd be somebody else in there or something, but they were the ones that worked together.

In the San Fernando Development<sup>102</sup> they brought in a fellow named H. J. Whitley<sup>103</sup> who was a big real estate developer . . . and [also] the Janss<sup>104</sup> brothers. That's where they got their big start. H. J. Whitley was general manager of the whole project. Whitsett<sup>105</sup> was the real estate agent around Van Nuys. The Janss brothers had all that farm land out Canoga Park way<sup>106</sup> and so forth.

You know Sherman Oaks was named after General Sherman.<sup>107</sup> My father would never let them name anything Brant. He was a very retiring man, and not even a street, you know. He'd walk up the alley rather—everybody had to go to him, you know. He was very retiring, kind of a power behind the throne. But he and Mr. Chandler made a great team. Mr. Chandler with the *Times* and the publicity he was able to give. My father with the Title Insurance and Trust Company able to—

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Well, anyway, they [the five] were in everything and just one project after another. Hollywood land was another one of the things . . . Westmoreland Place there at Third between Larchmont. They bought that ranch and put up what they called an Electrical Adobe. They built just a plaster house and called it an adobe and they put in every piece of electrical equipment that was available. That was many years ago, of course, now. I suppose a million people or

thousands at least, hundreds of thousands of people went through that. Wore out two, three sets of carpets just going through and seeing an electric vacuum cleaner, electric dishwasher, ironing, and everything that ran with electricity. It was fabulous, you know. Well, they bought that place, put in the streets, Larchmont and all those. It was all sold out in less than a year. They were really go-getters, Lake Arrowhead, that's another one—just any number of projects.

Douglas Aircraft, there was Donald Douglas [and] Bill Henry . . . the reporter for the *Times* back in Washington. Bill Henry was in my class at high school. And Donald Douglas was a flyer who had some ideas about planes, one thing or another. . . . Well, they got a chance to build ten planes for the Navy if they could produce one good machine. Well, they didn't have any money to produce one even. So Bill Henry took Donald Douglas up to Mr. Chandler, and Mr. Chandler, in the usual fashion, he wrote down ten names. O. F. Brant was the first name, and he [Chandler] said, "You go down and if O. F. Brant will sign up this thing—" I think they put up fifteen hundred dollars a piece. I guess they had to have [fifteen] thousand. . . . So Bill Henry and Donald Douglas . . . sat in my father's outer office there for a day or so; and finally the secretary said, "Do you boys want to see Mr. Brant?" And they said, "Well, we've been sitting here for a day or two trying to see him." So she said, "Well, you just put your paper underneath that door, and it'll come back to you in a hurry." So they stuck this paper under the door. Father would never open the door. He just passed papers back and forth. So Bill Henry said, "Characteristic of O. F. Brant," he said, "me, too!" So he said they had no trouble when Harry Chandler and father would sign.<sup>108</sup>

Maynard McFie, who was president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce [in 1920], used to say in his speeches to the Chamber of Commerce, . . . "If anybody wants to start a project in Los Angeles, they've either got to run up to Fifth and Spring Street to see O. F. Brant, get his approval or up at First and Broadway and see Harry Chandler. If they give their approval, why he can be assured that it'll go over." So they were really go-getters, even if he . . . was my father. But the rest of us didn't have any of their ability at all.

But . . . father passed away rather suddenly. . . . He had an automobile accident up on the Ridge Route. He didn't drive himself, but some fellow was teaching his girl friend how to drive up on the Ridge Route there—a dangerous place—and she bumped into the car my father was riding in, and they were very—I think it was a married man out with his secretary or something—they were very apologetic and said it was their fault and send the bill and one thing and another. But when they got back and thought it over, why they decided that it was all father's chauffeur's [fault], whoever was driving his car. That made my father so angry he made the insurance company—the insurance company was perfectly willing to pay the damage and forget it, but he said no. He didn't like that kind of business. It was entirely their fault. And so, this fellow got up on the stand and told his story. Then my father was called up. He said that fellow



was a beautiful liar. He got up and he was all steeled up to have the attorneys tear him apart, but they excused him, and he walked back to his chair there and fell over dead. He was all nerved up you know.<sup>109</sup> Well, that threw all the thing on to Mr. Chandler. . . .

My father—Mr. Chandler said, you know, he missed him more than any one of his associates because they would either see each other or confer with each other by phone, if it was physically possible.

#### THE C-M RANCH

[For the C-M] they had a Mexican secretary, a fellow named Gómez who had his headquarters and office right next to my father's office in the Title Insurance Building which at that time was at Fifth and Spring Street. (The original was up Franklin-New High. When they outgrew those quarters, they rented the Rowan, what is now the Rowan Building. They built the building across the street after, along about 1928-30 somewhere along in there.) But the board was really just—Mr. Chandler and father . . . actually dominated the thing between them as long as my father was alive. Then on the board we had William H. Allen, Jr., who was my father's partner and who had put in some money. He didn't have anything to do with the management or operation but he was one that father had gotten to take in. He was, of course, . . . an old man. He was the president of . . . Title [Insurance]; he's the guy that came out with the money, and they made him president without pay too and gave him the privilege [of selling stock] and he complained like hell, "Your father used to make me go out and sell that worthless stock." I said, "Aren't you sorry you didn't buy more of it yourself?" Well, we had, of course, Frank Pfaffinger. He'd put money in it. He was one of the *Times*, the Chandler-Otis group, you know. They were thrifty Germans and they had come with some money. (Mr. Chandler and father, they used to say, "I saw him first," if some guy came to town with money, "I saw him first." And one or the other would get him to invest in something or another.) But they dominated the thing. But after father passed away and Mr. Chandler, he had, of course, the *Times* and all its problems and everything, why then we'd have board-meetings. Then we had all those who had the biggest stock holdings—Mr. Allen, . . . I represented the Brants, and Mr. Harry Chandler and Frank Pfaffinger usually sat in on the meetings. Then we had a fellow from the Title Company, a fellow named Claude Davis, who was an attorney that was a troubleshooter. When something would go wrong, it'd be a strike or a breakdown or a financial shortage, or something, or somebody had stolen some money or something, we'd shoot Davis out on the job. He had the ability to fix it up some way or another, you know. So it was largely the Brants and the Chandlers and Pfaffinger. Allen, of course, you might say, was a Brant, that is, he wasn't any relation, but, I mean, he was one of father's group. We had a few outsiders. Let's see, Bill—Tom Gibbons . . . their father put some money in too. And Doug Longyear's father.<sup>110</sup> He was a vice-president of one

of the banks in town. Everybody had, you know, they, as I say, if that group would take up something, they'd always made money, they'd ride along with them and put in whatever they had, few thousand dollars each.

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[We] always had a general manager. We started out with a fellow named Bowker,<sup>111</sup> and he was a tough hombre that bossed everybody around. He was really the kingpin, and then we got a fellow named Wardlaw. I think the reason they got him was he was with the Southern Pacific. . . . We had this railroad that ran from Mexicali and Calexico down to San Felipe, down to the Gulf, you know. I think Wardlaw was selected as general manager because that was the time they were constructing the railroad, and he was a railroader, and, of course, was capable of doing that job. Then we had this fellow Harry Clark who was the fellow who was manager at the time of the crash and when we lost all big—missed the high market and didn't sell out quick enough. . . .<sup>112</sup> Father was generally a general manager and he'd have a manager under him. Mr. Chandler would be—they would be conferring with each other.

They used to call . . . [the C-M] a million acre ranch—a *hectárea*, I believe, is two and a fraction acre, and I think there were eight hundred thousand acres on the Mexican side; and then on the American side, while some of it was joined right up there, they had lands spread all over the valley there as far up as El Centro, Holtville, and all those places. But they used to call it a million acres, and I thought that was an awful big piece of land. I said to my father one time at the dinner table, I said, "Compared to this table of Mexico, how big is a million acres?" He said, "About as big as a fly speck on this table," which took most of the wind out of me. But it was a big project. . . . [The purchase date of the ranch]—I think it was about 1898. That's about the nearest I could guess it. . . . It was about the turn of the century, a little before that. . . . It was about three years before that my father first made that trip down onto the desert there. Then I think it took them the next three years before they actually got possession of it.<sup>113</sup>

To show their good will and everything, they built very substantial houses there and things. . . . They really did everything up in first class style. . . . [They constructed] buildings in [both] Calexico and Mexicali. The towns of Calexico and Mexicali were named by General Harrison Gray Otis.<sup>114</sup> He combined California and Mexico to form Calexico—and Mexicali was just the reverse. That was on a part of the [C-M] land. (They did the same thing out in the [San Fernando] Valley, for Canoga Park, Van Nuys.) They built the buildings out over the sidewalk to give the shade there, you see, because—hotter than hell. It used to be 120° out there [in the Colorado Desert] but, of course, when they got the irrigating and . . .

They built a railroad down from Mexicali to San Felipe, and the idea was to



have a deep water port so that they could ship all this cotton and stuff, alfalfa they were raising, without going over the railroad or anything. . . .

We used to go down, we'd drive down, from Calexico-Mexicali in a horse and carriage, you know. This land is all silt. There's no bottom to it. And to come to a little irrigation ditch or a river or anything, it's really a major project to get across because there's no bottom to the thing. It's just like sugar. It just melts away underneath. [For example], when the Colorado River broke loose . . . President Theodore Roosevelt at the time asked the Southern Pacific engineers to go and check up the thing; and so they tried—they ran boxcars loaded with rock and one thing and another into the thing and the damn [*sic*] things would sink out of sight. They finally hit upon a plan. They got all the Indians, Mexicans, and everybody they could get. They made big mats out of willow, and they would carry those out and then dump the load of rocks and things on that. It spread the load. It didn't all just wash out immediately underneath. Our government never did reimburse the Southern Pacific for their work.

They [the C-M] would clear the land and level it.<sup>115</sup> Of course, it was practically level anyway. They'd throw up dikes, you know, make sort of basins, and then they would run the water from the Colorado River Canal [the Alamo Canal] through the laterals. They would flood this land. . . .

They would plant alfalfa first. That was hardy and the roots would go down as far as seventy-five feet in this silt and that tied the land together better, gave it a more substantial being. Alfalfa, you know, enriches the soil. It has nodules on the roots that take nitrogen out of the air and put it in the ground. Instead of extracting the food value, it enriches the food value. So after a few years of alfalfa, then they would put in corn, maize—the Mexicans use maize, the corn, sweet corn. They'd grow alfalfa to enrich the soil; and, of course, we would feed cattle there, as it was a big cattle ranch. That was one of the mainstays—the cattle business.

One year down on the C-M Ranch the cotton was worth fifty cents a pound, and we had millions of bales of the damn [*sic*] stuff.<sup>116</sup> We were just about to make a big cleanup, you know, . . . and the bottom dropped out of the market. So Mr. Chandler called a meeting of the board of managers of the C-M Ranch and said, "The price of cotton is dropping off very badly," and he said, "I think it's going to continue to do so. What shall we do?" So I said, "If you think it's going to continue to go down, why don't we sell short, oversell and buy it back when it goes down further." "Oh," he said, "no. That would be gambling." So I said, "Well, what are we doing now? We're gambling!" Well, we finally decided that we'd instruct the manager to sell at the market price and get out quick. But instead of doing that, instead of directing the manager to sell out quick and everything, he sent him a telegram which I saw and [which] said, "We think the price of cotton is going to continue to go down, but use your own judgment." Well, the manager was going to take a terrible licking, you know; we were, too, for that matter; but he didn't want the responsibility; so

he hung on until it dropped down to about five cents, and then we were in the hole really for millions. We'd all borrowed. In those days why all we had to do was just go in the bank and sign your name, and you'd get a million bucks if you wanted them. So they all told me that I was on all this paper and I was responsible. So it really was a terrible blow. I thought all you had to do was sign your name, borrow the money, and there was no paying off. I woke up to the facts of life. And boy! Oh, boy! It really gave me a terrible shock. People were jumping out of windows, you know, committing suicide and everything else. I had the heebie-jeebies so damn [*sic*] much I damn [*sic*] near was considering it myself. Well, anyway, that all worked out, but that was a terrible shock. That was the big depression in 1929.

One time the manager, this fellow who hung on to the cotton and lost all the money [H. H. Clark], well Mr. Chandler had the idea that it would be a great place for dairy business, and he got Mr. Stuart of the Carnation people who founded his company up in Seattle . . . to go down there.<sup>117</sup> The manager and I went up to Portland to the International Livestock Show up there; and I selected a young bull, a Holstein bull. Of course, I was a Guernsey breeder, but I'd studied all breeds. The lines of the cattle are supposed to be about the same. I selected a young bull there that became grand champion, and we presented it to the Governor of Lower California. I don't remember whether it was Cantú—this fellow was probably one of the later ones, but anyway we did that to save them, you know, to try to keep on friendly terms with them. But the idea was to get the Carnation people to put in a condensing plant there and a creamery and then get the natives to have cows and send the milk in there. But, there was so much revolutions and expropriat—, taking of our property away and kicking us out, one thing and another, that it never did develop. Of course, now they have big dairies down there. But that was one of the projects. Instead of having just beef cattle, why we had planned to get into the dairy business where they'd have alfalfa pastures and feed.

The alfalfa we did grow had to be baled up mostly—they did have some feeding yards there. They would chop the alfalfa in the field into powder, you know, and feed the cattle that. And then, of course, the cottonseed meal—when the cotton is grown and the cotton oil is pressed out of the seed . . . that leaves what they call cottonseed cake. Pressed into, just like a board, you know, it's harder than a rock, you know, but by breaking it up, it crumbles up—why the cattle could eat it. That was very rich in food value and protein and nitrogen. So between the cottonseed cake and the alfalfa and the corn, why we were able to carry on big cattle raising, fattening project, raising and fattening with alfalfa. 'Course, cotton, during the war, was really where they made some money. We lost money too, but that was the end of the thing. But we had several years of good prices and good production. Of course, there was considerable fruit growing—peaches, apricots, and various fruits down there. A different kind of corn. They have Egyptian corn. Looks like buckshot you



know, and milo maize, and regular Indian corn with various colored kernels instead of all being one color, with these speckles you know, black and red and white . . . they're very hardy. Hemp grew naturally down there, and they grew commercially hemp and made bags and one thing or another. They supplied the hemp for the bags. . . . I would say that cotton was the cash crop and alfalfa was the feed for the pigs and the cattle, and the cottonseed meal left over from the pressing of the oil, cottonseed oil. They had gins to gin the cotton, take the fiber off the seed, and then the presses. So those were the main crops.<sup>118</sup>

We had thousands of head, thousands of head, you know. Probably ten thousand. They, of course, varied. The ranch did not do all of this themselves. They would lease land to people.<sup>119</sup> That's the way Tejon does too. We lease the land to people who want to grow cotton or sugar beets. Sugar beets grew down there, too. They'd take off the head, the leaves, you know, and most of the mineral matter is right up in the crown, you know, at the very top. The bottom part of the root is all just sugar, you know, mostly sugar. Get rid of most of that mineral matter and, of course, that made ideal cattle feed—minerals and vitamins, and the green stuff. They would turn the cattle in on this after the beets were taken off. Sometimes a cow there would get one of those heads dried up and get it stuck in its throat and couldn't swallow it. And they had to have fellows around with lengths of hose like that when he'd see a cow distressed that way, go up, put the hose down there and shove the beet on.

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[Now, about the development of the] American side.<sup>120</sup> Of course, . . . there was no distinction between the soil, the actual soil, but we, of course, could grow different crops because we had a market for it. We could ship lettuce; lettuce was the big crop down on the American side. Cotton also, alfalfa. We had pigs, we had dairies down there on the American side.

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Arnold Haskell, who was General Sherman's heir and who went to work for him fifty years ago this year [1963], was the one that stuck with this thing and worked it out and collected the money from our government. . . . I just saw an article in the paper the other day that he'd held on to some of that American side stuff and had just sold out for a fabulous sum. But he really worked it out. They were—I had my hands full out with my big dairy, you know, so I—Mr. Chandler tried very hard to get me to, but he finally got Arnold Haskell. . . . General Sherman was in so heavily that Arnold had to, practically had to do it. I didn't have to do it because after father passed away we withdrew from the big development things, Hollywood land. I sold my interest out as quick as I could to Chandler and Sherman because they were going, they were still doing development, the work, and I had my hands full. I—so, like the Tejon—I either sold or would give [it] away . . . to some of the family, you know, some tax [relief] where I could make it a good thing for me.

On the American side, they had a manager up there who ran that land, and we operated that practically all our own selves. We, of course, would lease land to some farmer who wanted to grow cotton or lettuce or some other crop; but largely, we had thousands, not thousands, but hundreds of mules. They . . . used to in the early days, have mules and scrapers and one thing and another instead of tractors. Ralph Chandler, who is one of the cousins of Norman Chandler and Mr. Harry Chandler's nephew, he bought up those Holt tractors after the First World War ended in 1918. Bought up hundreds of them. We had one out at Brant Rancho. They were big powerful things; and with those big Holt tractors with a big heavy chain between, they could clean that land up pretty [well] or level it with big [scrapers] and plow it with gang plows and all. He just bought those—they were practically a give away, a drug on the market. He peddled them to the farmers everywhere at a very, very attractive price. I've forgotten now what it was. But you couldn't afford to—practically put the Holt people out of business for a few years because he had these damn [*sic*] war surplus things . . . at practically give away as compared to what they first sold to the government for. And of course, they done plenty good enough in selling them at double price for the war purpose.

[The land on the American side was purchased] . . . almost immediately, the same time, immediately following when they first bought [that on the Mexican side]. It was all just desert, and they just took up the land. I would say it all happened the same time. As soon as they decided—found they were going to get the Mexican side—they began to look for land on the American side so it would work back and forth. And it was in the early days there, we used to just cross the border just as though it were all either Mexico or United States. There was no difference. It wasn't until some of the Revolution, they began to smuggle guns across, that they put up a fence and put out guards and prevented them. [Then] we'd have to drive into Calexico . . . instead of crossing right [on the ranch]—the ranch headquarters were out about two miles east of Calexico and Mexicali. We had our own bridge across the irrigation canal there, and we'd just go back and forth. But it got so we finally—they, some of the Revolutionists were against us and some were for us, you know. So we'd be blamed for . . . some shooting match or something down there, why we'd always have provided the rifles or some damn [*sic*] thing!

\* \* \*

We had headquarters on both sides. We had headquarters on the American side, and then we had a duplicate headquarters on the south, on the south of the border. It got so that we had to run them separately completely because of the international situation. But when we first went down there, why . . . [there] was no one to object, no one who knew exactly where the line was. We probably had to survey to find out ourselves where it was.

\* \* \*



[The C-M] colonization plan was developed after Díaz' day. When they first started out, I think they had planned to more or less operate the ranch . . . themselves—something like we do the Tejon ranch. While we lease the lands to others, let them do the actual work, you know, we're really deciding on what crop is best that goes in up there. When they started taking the land away from us for it to give the agrarian, to give the agricultural, why then we developed this colonization thing whereas we would clear the land and put in facilities and towns and one thing and another, and sell it to the Mexican people on a long-term lease and one thing and another. That was the colonization plan. We promoted that at great lengths. But there would be so many turnovers we were going to Mexico most of the time explaining it to a new group.

\* \* \*

[We started the colonization] following about 1923, 4, or 5, somewhere along in there. Then for years afterwards, as long as we were able to hang on, that was the only hope we had—was that colonization where the land would go back to the Mexican people. You see, all we were doing was developing it and getting it in shape for them, turning it back to them. That seemed to pacify them. It was a scheme to try to get out. We'd gotten in there and were going big guns and then all of a sudden . . . pow! They begged us to go down there and everything, and even after we withdrew down there. I still like Mexico and I go down very often. But I was in Mexico City there one time, and a group of Mexican gentlemen came and wanted to interest me in going in and financing some development work down there. I said, "Well, we've just gotten through all of that. We love Mexico, but—" They said, "Why, you didn't know the right people." I said, "We knew the right people when we got in there but others came along." I said, "It'd be the same way with you. Even if you're in with the right people, you won't be twenty years from now."

The expropriation, the land. Well, of course our government paid the money back on that, and Arnold Haskell used to have to go to Washington every so, every few months, you know, to confer with whoever was, whatever situation happened to be. He was really the one, and he would take along whoever was necessary to support whatever evidence he had to present to the government. . . . [They finally finished paying] about three or four years ago, four or five years ago. Came in every year. It was kind of nice to get a little out of the clear sky, never knowing whether it was going to continue or not because it—well, we were very happy to get back the money actually invested. Still, it was very poor settlement. But it was very good considering what . . . luck we'd [had] with the Mexican government, and we never would have gotten five cents out of them, I'm sure; . . . I think the only reason that President Roosevelt agreed to it was because he was looking for air bases and one thing or another in Mexico and all over the world, and that was the way, I guess, he got them to agree to let us have air bases and stuff down there—is to agree to pay off legitimate claims.

Well, they used our claim as being the basis of the settlement because we were the only ones that had any facts or anything, you know.

Hearst had gone down there and had a big holding, but he didn't have any records. . . . He ran it hit or miss.

This [the C-M] was run as a business; it was a big business; and they had banks, you know, there to carry on the financing of the farmers and all that sort of thing.

[Referring to the validity of a rumor that American money had been going into a bank in Mexicali to support the expropriation drive by the Mexican government, Brant stated:]<sup>121</sup> Oh, I never heard of anything like that. Well, of course, there was a little shennanigy [*sic*] business. Somebody had a revolution or something down there, and they blamed Mr. Chandler and General Sherman on that. But I wasn't in on that because I think I'd either hadn't gotten into it or withdrawn. But I do remember there was somebody started a little comic opera revolution down there. No, I don't know anything about that. No doubt there was a lot of people trying to—of course, . . . the *Times*, Mr. Chandler, very powerful politically, and, of course, they had their enemies. No doubt somebody was trying to take it away from us, you know, and they did. But we always felt it was really the Mexican politicians who were trying to make hay with their supporters by promising them free land or government land, all that. As far as Mexican government was concerned, they did get it absolutely free. It didn't cost them five cents. But the only reason—we'd given up all hope of ever getting anything out of it when Roosevelt very generously gave away the American money and still doing so.

\* \* \*

[As far as ending operations there] I'd say that Arnold Haskell, if he sold out his American holdings there, that it just happened about a week ago. . . . [On] the Mexican side—I don't think that there's been any, have any interest down there now or have had for probably ten or fifteen years. Even longer than that. I got out—stopped going down there. I used to have to go down there and ride out on the desert there, you know, see the headings and all that sort of thing. One time we got out there and the damn [*sic*] car stopped running; and here we were, hell, way out on the desert and no chance of getting back. Fortunately I knew a little about automobiles when I was younger. We took off the distributor, the electrical thing, you know, and the spring had broken. So I said, "Anybody got a rubber band?" And some guy—they looked around in their pockets—finally found a rubber band, and I put it around this head there and drew these contacts in again—the spring had broken—and got us back to town. I think that was my last trip. As I say, while I was playing along with Mr. Chandler so he wouldn't get sore at me, I didn't, really wasn't interested in the project. I was interested, hoping we'd get out some way or other, and I was cooperating with him.

He used to like to have me along when he went to Mexico, you know. He



thought I was a good traveling companion, and he so told somebody. He was supporting, of course, supported prohibition when we had prohibition, you know. When we used to go down to Mexico, why I'd say, "Well, we're pretty high here, Mr. Chandler." I went over and bought a bottle of Napoleon Cognac, "Don't you think we ought to have a nip?" He said, "Oh yes, this high altitude." We went down in a private car one time, the superintendent of the Southern Pacific, Mr. Platt's private car, so I stocked up on some [of] this Napoleon Cognac. They had an old time restaurant there that had some real old Napoleon Cognac. . . . So I can remember we'd [have] a little nip whether it was high altitude or low before every meal, just before every meal. Just before we got to the border to cross back into prohibition in California, why I said, "Well, this is the last of it Mr. Chandler." And he said, "Well, here's to those Americans who didn't know a good thing when they had it." Well, when I got back and told Norman about his father, he said, "I just can not believe it," he said. "He has hounded us so much about the evils of liquor and wouldn't permit us to have any or anything." He says, "I just can't believe it." I said, "Well, it's true," but I said that he was in Mexico where it was legal.

As I say, we used to [go down]—take the guns. . . . When I was down there when the Colorado River banks broke and let the water go into the Salton Sea, they were entertaining. Well, everybody on the party had a title except my father. And so they called him the Admiral. But they had Major Bisby and Colonel somebody else, and General Sherman and General Otis. Everybody had a title except father, so they called him Admiral. . . . I took down the guns. I can remember General Sherman—had a transfer company with the horsedrawn vehicles. They got their shotguns and ammunition; I gathered them [the guns] up at the Title Company at Franklin and New High. The General had one of his drays, you know, come up there and he rode up on the high seat with the driver, and we loaded all of these guns and things in and I took them down to the train, the Southern Pacific, and took them out to [the] ranch house . . . so that they were all there before their party arrived. [So] there wouldn't be any . . . hold up on the claiming. They were just duck shotguns, you know. But as we drove down Spring Street, the horses were pulling the wagon down . . . on the streetcar tracks, you know, and a streetcar came behind us and rang the bell like hell. "Get off the streetcar" [tracks]! So the truck driver very generously pulled off to one side. General Sherman very profanely said, "What in hell are you doing?" . . . [The truck driver] said, "Well, I'm getting out of the way of the streetcar." "The hell with the streetcar!" Poor fellow. They kinda got even with him by—

#### NOTES

100. Los Angeles Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company. McGroarty, *History of Los Angeles County*.

101. Born in Asback, Bavaria, November 9, 1853, he came to the United States when he was twenty-eight. He had intended to continue on to Australia

to regain his health but his physical ailment disappeared during his Atlantic voyage—hence his decision to remain in the United States. By trade he was a cabinetmaker and remained as such until soon after his arrival in Kansas City where his kit was stolen and he was forced to turn to something else. There he attended business college and worked for a while as cashier in a dry goods house and a harness shop. In 1885 on a trip to Los Angeles he met Harrison Gray Otis and his wife Eliza. Two years later he returned to Los Angeles and went to work for the *Times* eventually becoming its treasurer. He invested heavily in *Times* stock and joined Harry Chandler in financial ventures, such as the CRLC and the Tejon Ranch. In 1936 he turned over much of his property to the Pfaffinger Foundation, a charitable organization for newspaper workers. Pfaffinger was a Mason, a member of both Scottish and York Rites, and donated the land for the Masonic Building at the University of California at Los Angeles. At the time of his death in 1940 (one month after his wife's passing), he was two months short of completing fifty-three years of service for the *Times*. Los Angeles *Times*, February 5, 1940, February 16, 1940; *Times* company house organ, July, 1948. See note 60 above.

102. The big five for the San Fernando Development included O. F. Brant, Harry Chandler, M. H. Sherman, Harrison Gray Otis, and H. J. Whitley. These five constituted a board of control for a thirty-man syndicate. The principal promoters selected areas for themselves. Brant took 850 acres at Ventura and Topanga Canyon boulevards. This land was developed as the Brant Rancho with its famous Guernsey dairy herd. Robinson, *San Fernando Valley*.

103. Whitley was general manager in charge of sales. Robinson, *San Fernando Valley*.

104. The brothers were Edwin and Harold Janss. They owned and operated the Janss Investment Company, and the Janss Finance Corporation. Justice B. Detwiler, *et al*, *Who's Who in California, 1928-1929*.

105. William Paul Whitsett was added to the five. He purchased a half interest in the Van Nuys townsite and took over its sales and promotion. Whitsett has had an office and has lived in Van Nuys for fifty years. Robinson, *San Fernando Valley*.

106. The Janss Company handled the Owensmouth sales. Robinson, *San Fernando Valley*.

107. M. H. Sherman had selected 1000 acres at Ventura and Sepulveda boulevards which became known as Sherman Oaks. Sherman Way was also named for him. Robinson, *San Fernando Valley*.

108. This version of Douglas and Henry visiting O. F. was substantially confirmed by the Douglas Aircraft Company. In 1921 each of the ten men put up \$1,500 on a \$15,000 note to finance fulfillment of the Navy contract. Ralph Hancock, *Fabulous Boulevard* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, Co., 1949), repeats this same folklore.



109. This incident occurred in a Bakersfield courtroom, on March 14, 1922, after Brant had finished testifying in a civil suit. His wife Susan Elizabeth Brant and daughter and son-in-law Mr. and Mrs. Harold Bayly were present in the courtroom at the time. *Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 1922.

110. A. W. D. Longyear had invested in the Douglas Aircraft deal and had put up \$1500. See note 108 above.

111. See the text of the Introduction for an additional reference to Bowker.

112. H. H. Clark was manager from the early twenties until his death in 1930. Brant here is referring to an incident which is clarified below. See also text of Introduction above and note 116 below.

113. For further information on the purchase dates see the Introduction above, also Linholm, "A Study of the Agrarian Revolution in Mexico," and the publication of the *Compañía Mexicana de Terrenos del Río Colorado, S.A., Colonización del Valle de Mexicali, B.C.*

114. Margaret Romer in her "History of Calexico, California," states that Mr. L. M. Holt, popularly known as "Limpy," named both towns. Also she states that he gave Imperial Valley its name.

The *Monografía del Estado de Baja California, 1955* states that "El Coronel Agustín Sanjinés que ocupó la Jefatura Política en el año de 1902, dió la denominación a la hoy, Ciudad de Mexicali formándola con la combinación de las palabras México-California."

115. For an account of how the land was cleared in the Imperial Valley and the surrounding area, see Gordon Stuart, *When the Sands of the Desert Grew Gold* (Pacific Palisades: Gordon Stuart, 1961), and C. E. Tait, *Irrigation in Imperial Valley, California: Its Problems and Possibilities* U.S. 60th Congress, 1st Session, S. Doc. 246 (1908).

116. In January, 1948, D. O. Brant happened to meet a former cotton buyer, R. B. Claggett, then of the Farm Equipment Division of Montgomery Ward. Claggett told Brant he used to buy a lot of cotton from Harry Clark. He then referred to the year of the drop from twenty cents to six cents per pound. Brant in a memorandum of January 8, 1948, tells of the meeting in Allen's office to decide on a course of action. What he wrote then corresponds to this interview statement. Claggett told him that he had begged Clark to sell him the 100,000 bales he had, but that the latter refused. Harry Chandler came down, and Claggett was also unsuccessful in persuading him to sell. Claggett even accompanied him on the train to Los Angeles whereupon Chandler told him to see his son Norman. After a two hour delay for an appointment, Norman told him to come back later. This Claggett did, and then offered Norman fourteen cents. Norman told him that he and Sherman had decided to hold on, for they felt the price was going up. They waited until it fell to five or six cents a pound before selling. In a following memorandum of February, 1948, D. O. Brant states that Haskell confirmed the material to be factual. However, though the Brants continued to use this 1929 crash as an excuse to complain about

improper management and one cause of the excessive notes required (the ones for \$2,500,000) to continue operating, Haskell in 1943, however, had told R. A. Brant "that he had analyzed the amount of loss occasioned by not selling the cotton in '29, and this did not add up to excessive guarantees of notes by the creditors." Memo of D.O.B., January 8, 1948; Memo of D. O. Brant, February 16, 1948; Memo of Robert A. Brant, September 24, 1943, Brant Files.

117. In a letter to me from Wallace Jamie, director of public relations, of the Carnation Company, he wrote that "Mr. E. A. Stuart was, indeed, the founder of Carnation Company and he lived in Seattle at the time of the founding. The original plant was in Kent, Washington, a small community near Seattle." In response to my inquiry whether or not Stuart was ever involved with Harry Chandler in an attempt to establish a dairy in Lower California near Mexicali, Jamie stated that "the son of the late E. A. Stuart, Mr. Elbridge H. Stuart, . . . has replied 'I have a faint recollection . . . [*sic*] of my father once saying that Mr. Chandler had attempted to interest him in a dairy venture in Lower California but that he was not interested'." Wallace Jamie, director of public relations, Carnation Company, to Noel J. Stowe, September 7, 1965.

118. The text of the Introduction also discusses the crops grown on the ranch.

119. See text of Introduction and note 32 above.

120. The Introduction contains some information on the development of the American side. Also see notes 5 and 43.

121. In April, 1937, letters introducing Arnold Haskell were prepared for the following people: John Dockweiler, House of Representatives; Frank Murphy, Governor of Michigan; Walter P. Chrysler, President of Chrysler Corporation; Byron Foy, Vice-President of Chrysler Corporation; Cesar Bertheau, Vice-President of Marine Midland Trust Company of New York; Franklin Lane, Jr., of Washington, D.C.; J. F. T. O'Conner, Comptroller of Currency, Washington, D.C.; James Roosevelt; and John McClure. Basically each letter asked for help regarding the tenuous Mexican situation which was growing worse and further stated that American dollars were being deposited in the bank at Mexicali which led Haskell to believe that the sudden change in Mexican Agrarian policy there was being financed by other than Mexican capital. This, of course, if true, would have violated the colonization pact between the Mexican government and the CRLC. Robert A. Brant was largely responsible for collecting these letters of introduction for Haskell to present. April 1, 1937, memo of letters of introduction for Mr. Arnold Haskell: from R. A. Brant to John Dockweiler, House of Representatives; Governor Frank Murphy, Lansing, Michigan; Walter P. Chrysler, Chrysler Corporation; Byron Foy, Chrysler Building, New York; Cesar J. Bertheau, Vice-President, Marine Midland Trust Company of New York; Franklin K. Lane, Jr., Washington; J. F. T. O'Connor, Comptroller of Currency, Washington; from Ruth Mann to James Roosevelt; from Joseph Peller (Title Insurance Building) to John E. McClure; also letter of Robert A. Brant to Joseph Peeler, April 1, 1937, Brant Files.



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# Edward Stanly: First Republican Candidate for Governor of California

By NORMAN D. BROWN

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EDWARD STANLY'S nomination for governor by the Free-Soil Republican Party of California was an anomaly of the campaign of 1857 in the state. A former Whig Congressman from North Carolina, who had held slaves, Stanly had never affiliated with the Republican Party and disagreed with its position on slavery in the territories. His nomination and the reasons for it, together with the subsequent campaign, is an interesting chapter in the early history of the Republican Party in California—one which has not been fully told.

Stanly was born in New Bern, North Carolina, in 1810, the son of John Stanly, a Federalist Congressman and accomplished orator, from whom he acquired his nationalist opinions and hatred of the Democratic Party. After attending the American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy (later Norwich University) in Middletown, Connecticut, he was admitted to the North Carolina Bar in 1832 and began practice in Washington, North Carolina. In 1837, he was elected to Congress as a Whig after two older men had declined a nomination, and re-elected in 1839 and 1841, the second time without regular opposition.<sup>1</sup> Stanly's irritable temper and sarcastic tongue soon made him a well-known Whig partisan, and he was called by John Quincy Adams "the terror of the Lucifer [Democratic] party."<sup>2</sup> A Democrat, John A. Wheeler, whom Stanly criticized sharply in a House speech in 1840, wrote later that he was considered "a decided party leader in Congress, and acquired an unhappy reputation for an overindulgence in vindictive feelings and ultra denunciations of his political opponents."<sup>3</sup> He nar-

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rowly avoided a duel with Representative Henry Wise of Virginia in 1842, after Wise caned him on the Washington race course road. In 1851 he fought a duel with Samuel Inge of Alabama, arising out of a debate in the House, but without injury to either man.

Stanly's personal appearance belied his fiery nature. A "full blonde," he was below average height, with a small face, and a high, large forehead.<sup>4</sup> As a young Congressman, he bore a striking resemblance to his friend William Henry Seward, the New York Whig leader, although the resemblance grew less marked with the passage of years.<sup>5</sup> Like many men of passionate nature, he possessed the ability to make warm friends as well as bitter enemies; during his later years in Congress, he exercised great influence with the Northern Whigs. His manners were genial, even courtly. A North Carolina woman said in 1850: "Mr. Stanley [*sic*] makes a better show than most of our representatives. He is so perfectly gentlemanly in his appearance and manners."<sup>6</sup> Such gentility was a family trait. His father, John Stanly, had been considered "much of a courtier in his manners," and "a favourite with all the ladies."<sup>7</sup>

Stanly was defeated for re-election in 1843, after the Democratic legislature gerrymandered his district; but he returned to the House of Representatives in 1849. He was one of the few Southern Whigs in Congress to follow President Zachary Taylor's lead during the debates over the Compromise of 1850, and favored the immediate admission of California as a free state.<sup>8</sup> Stanly said later that he objected to Henry Clay's so-called "Omnibus Bill" because "I thought it was wrong to make the admission of California depend on the success or failure of other measures. . . ."<sup>9</sup> He was almost alone among Southern Representatives in recognizing the constitutionality of the Wilmot Proviso, although he believed that to enact the Proviso would be "an act of gross injustice and wrong" to the South.<sup>10</sup> Taylor intended to appoint him Secretary of War, but died before the office could be formally tendered.<sup>11</sup> After the President's death, Stanly cordially supported the compromise measures. In 1851 he stumped his district denouncing the Doctrine of Secession, and was re-elected by an increased majority. A Charlestonian, upon learning of Stanly's re-election, remarked: "*I had believed that no Southern constituency would have tolerated such a man.*"<sup>12</sup>



Stanly did not seek re-election in 1853. Weary of public life, he moved to California where he established a successful law practice in San Francisco and announced publicly that he did not desire to mingle in politics but wished to devote himself entirely to the law. In 1855 the Know Nothing Party, which many California Whigs joined after the demise of Whiggery, tried to enlist Stanly's services, paying him several visits and offering to elect him judge of the superior court in San Francisco if he would join the party. Stanly refused, although the office paid \$7,500 a year. He told the Know Nothings that he could not consent to any proscription for religion's sake, that he did not like their secret meetings and oaths, and that he could not support the repeal of the naturalization laws or the proscription of foreigners.<sup>13</sup>

To defeat the Know Nothing county ticket in San Francisco in 1855, Stanly agreed to run for state senator on the Whig ticket with Colonel Edward D. Baker (later Senator from Oregon) and addressed several Whig mass meetings in the City, reviewing Know Nothing principles "and handling them in a peculiarly severe and cutting manner."<sup>14</sup> Although the Know Nothings elected their entire state ticket, headed by John Neely Johnson, a former Whig, Stanly had the satisfaction of contributing to the heavy defeat of their county ticket in San Francisco, where the Democratic ticket was elected, Stanly and Baker falling behind both the Know Nothings and Democrats.<sup>15</sup>

The Republican Party in California was not organized until 1856, and membership was extremely limited at first: in Sacramento the party numbered scarcely a dozen, including Cornelius Cole, Collis P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins, Leland Stanford, and Edward B. and Charles Crocker. "While our party, in Sacramento, was slow of growth, there were no deserters," Cole later recalled. "Those who came with us enlisted for the war, so to speak."<sup>16</sup> John Carr, who organized the Republican Party in Weaverville, Trinity County, wrote that the Republicans "had to take more scoffs and jeers than the Salvation Army of the present day" (1891). "When speaking of the Republicans, the rough element would generally call them thieving, black Republican s.o.b.'s, but the more refined would often say: 'John I like you as a man, but d---n your politics!'"<sup>17</sup>

The first Republican mass meeting in California was held in Sacramento on April 19, 1856, and the party's first state convention met

there on April 30. It was "slimly attended" with only 125 delegates present from thirteen counties. The convention adopted the prohibition of slavery in the territories "as the cardinal principle of our organization" and unanimously accepted the platform of the party's recent Pittsburgh convention.<sup>18</sup>

The Sacramento Republicans made an immediate effort to enlist Stanly in their cause, writing him on April 4, 1856, that a Republican Party had been formed in the city "on the basis of the Pittsburg [*sic*] address" and requesting him to address them on April 12, if his political views and engagements would permit. Stanly replied that his professional duties required all his time, but went on to say that he had neither the inclination nor the time to keep up with the progress of parties in the country. He had never read the Pittsburgh Address and could not take part in any party meeting at which its merits would be discussed; but insofar as it opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, he was in thorough agreement, "and with all my heart. I fear it has brought nothing but trouble upon our country, without any good to justify the enormous wrong perpetrated by its enactment." Thus far he was a "Republican," but he feared that those who acted under that name entertained other views to which he had always been, and must be, opposed. Although never belonging to that school which regarded slavery as a blessing that should be extended over free territory—"very far from it"—yet as a native Southerner, he could never be found standing upon a platform "from which declarations of hostility should be made against that portion of our country to which my fondest affections still cling with unabated force."

Stanly added that he could not be a Democrat, for he could not subscribe to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; nor could he be a Know Nothing: "for their secrecies, grips and passwords I have an instinctive abhorrence." There was, then, but one course to follow:

I have been, I am, and I shall be a Whig, and am now nothing but a Whig—a national Whig, supporting a tariff when necessary for the protection of American labor, securing National Independence, advocating internal improvements by the General Government; above all, the National Railroad, without which California is a giant with his limbs asunder; and though I know some of these opinions are regarded as obsolete, I do not entertain them with any less sincerity on that account.<sup>19</sup>



In 1856, for the first time in twenty years, Stanly took no part in a Presidential election. He favored the Republican nominee, John C. Frémont, over Democrat James Buchanan and Millard Fillmore, the candidate of the Know Nothings (now styled the American Party), but was in North Carolina on a visit during the election and did not vote.<sup>20</sup> "Indeed," said the San Francisco *Daily Alta California* later, "his feelings were not such as to enable him to take an active part. His personal preferences were for Fillmore, but he disliked Americanism; he disliked Buchanan's Ostend circular, and Nebraskatism still more; and therefore he preferred Fremont."<sup>21</sup> Buchanan carried California by a plurality, receiving 53,368 votes to Fillmore's 36,210 and Frémont's 20,695. The Democrats elected their state ticket and regained control of the legislature.<sup>22</sup>

The legislature, which convened on January 5, 1857, had to elect two United States Senators to fill the seats of William Gwin and John Weller. Stanly, although still absent from the state, was the Republican candidate to succeed Weller, whose term expired on March 3. Entirely unsolicited, it was a nominal honor since the Republicans were a distinct minority in the legislature. On January 9 David C. Broderick was elected to Weller's seat for the long term, receiving seventy-nine votes to James W. Coffroth's seventeen, and Stanly's fourteen. Broderick then allowed the re-election of William Gwin for the short term after the latter pledged him the California federal patronage.<sup>23</sup>

However, in the Democratic State Convention, the anti-Broderick faction nominated John Weller for governor over Judge Joseph McCorkle, Broderick's choice, by a vote of 264 to 61.<sup>24</sup> Weller, a native of Ohio, "had considerable talent for debate, an easy command of language, a good presence, and an agreeable voice."<sup>25</sup>

The Republican State Convention met on July 8, 1857, "in the Rev. Mr. Benton's Church" in Sacramento, with delegates present from twenty counties. After the adoption of a platform that evening, the delegates were asked to suggest the names of their favorites for the office of governor. Those nominated were Edward Stanly, F. P. Tracy, Joseph A. Nunes, Treanor W. Park, and Edward D. Baker, of San Francisco; Samuel Bell, of Mariposa; Edward B. Crocker, of Sacramento; J. M. Turner, of Nevada; and D. R. Ashley, of Monterey. Since Stanly had never affiliated with the Republican Party, several delegates

asked whether he would accept the nomination, if offered. Members of the San Francisco delegation told the convention that Stanly would not feel at liberty to decline. Treadwell Park admitted that he had pledged Stanly his word to vote against him, that in many conversations with him he had refused to run and had begged his friends not to nominate him. Still, Park believed his Republicanism, ability, and honesty to be unquestionable and that no man would be of more advantage to the party. He was confident he would run if nominated.<sup>26</sup>

These assurances satisfied the delegates, and on the first ballot Stanly received 163 votes to 9 for Baker, 6 for Ashley, and 1 each for Park, Ira Rankin, and R. Chenery. His nomination was made unanimous. Park, Edward Crocker, and Aaron A. Sargent, of Nevada, were appointed to inform Stanly of his nomination and to request a reply by wire.<sup>27</sup>

Stanly had purposely gone to Petaluma in Sonoma County on July 8 on business to place himself beyond the reach of Park and the telegraph. But he accepted the nomination upon his return to San Francisco, sending a telegram, which was not received before the convention adjourned. It said in part: "If you cannot prevail, as I hope you may, on a better man to be your standard-bearer, and can trust a North Carolinian upon faith in his past life and expressed opinions, my name is at your service."<sup>28</sup>

Despite his earlier disclaimers, Stanly, according to Cornelius Cole, accepted the nomination "without much reluctance, though he well knew there was not the slightest chance of his election." The Republicans on their part wanted to make "as good a showing as possible in point of numbers," and Stanly's nomination was deemed a fortunate one. "From his prominence in the affairs of his time, and on account of his great ability, sterling integrity and independence of character, he was well known throughout the whole country."<sup>29</sup>

Some of the San Francisco Republicans, dubbed by the *Daily Alta California* the "Simon Pures," who had favored Baker's nomination, grumbled that Stanly had never identified himself in any way with the party—a fact which was true. However, the *Daily Alta California* thought no Republican could be elected governor "under present circumstances," and predicted Stanly would poll a larger vote than any other man the party could have nominated. Personally, he was unob-



jectionable—"a man of high morality and honor, and one who would well grace the gubernatorial chair."<sup>30</sup>

The "Simon Pures" could not have been reassured of Stanly's "Republicanism" by his first remarks in the campaign, made to the San Francisco Republican delegation, with many from the interior, who marched to his residence upon arriving in the City to cheer the Republican standard-bearer. Stanly did not bind himself to support the Republican platform; on the contrary, he repudiated all platforms—"the platform of a man's past conduct and known opinions, is the best one for any party"—and went simply for a reformation of government affairs in the state. In saying that he was "the first Southern man who advocated the right of the people of California to enter the Union with such a Constitution as she pleased to form," he seemed to endorse the Democratic doctrine of popular sovereignty, or letting the people of the territories decide the matter of slavery to suit themselves. The *Sacramento Daily Bee*, after a careful perusal of the speech, declared that "we cannot find any strictly Republican doctrine in the whole of it, and for anything avowed in that speech, he can as well be supported by the Democrats and Americans as any other party."<sup>31</sup>

In a letter to a committee of San Francisco Republicans, written five days after his nomination, Stanly spelled out his political opinions in more detail, assuring them they had not been recently formed. During his public career, in common with all Southern men, he had condemned abolitionist attempts to interfere with the rights of the Southern states, but had never hesitated to say, publicly as well as privately, that slavery was an evil; nor had he been "guilty of the folly of denying, what seven Presidents—beginning with . . . [Washington] and coming down to the time of Polk—had admitted, that Congress had the power to prohibit the extension of Slavery to Free Territory." The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an "enormous outrage"; a "violation of faith; a scheme of politicians to obtain Southern favor, at the risk of creating sectional divisions, with the hope of securing their own personal aggrandisement." It had produced nothing but discord and sectional strife.

On matters of state policy, Stanly regarded it as the duty of the Republican Party to impress upon the people the necessity of reform in state politics, economy in government, and a lessening of the oppres-

sive tax burden. He promised to support the construction of a "National Railroad" uniting California with the East.<sup>32</sup>

All parties in the state generally assumed that Stanly could not win unless he received the support of the old-line Whigs and the Americans, many of whom were former Whigs, who might be expected to cherish Stanly as one of their own. The *Sacramento Daily Union* thought that with their support he could give Weller a close race and might even defeat him; however, if they did not unite on him, his chances of being elected governor were "just as good as they are that he will be elected Emperor of France."<sup>33</sup>

Those who had known Stanly as a gallant North Carolina Whig in Congress—and who remembered his speeches in San Francisco in 1855 as a Whig candidate for state senator—were "pretty confident" that he would enter the canvass as an old line Henry Clay Whig, and an opponent of the Democrats generally, and not as a Republican.<sup>34</sup> His first public remarks after his nomination tended to strengthen this idea. When it was announced that he would speak in Sacramento on the night of July 17, 1857, an old line Whig, David Meeker, was selected to preside over the meeting, assisted by several vice-presidents, not one of whom, according to the *Sacramento Daily Union*, had ever acted with the Republicans. The *Daily Union* later said of this meeting:

It was not organized as a Republican meeting, but as one opposed to the Democracy, and the large majority present expected to hear an old fashioned Whig speech, in which he would hold the Democratic party responsible for its sins of omission and commission, both State and national.<sup>35</sup>

However, in a two hour speech, Stanly took what the Whigs and Americans considered to be strong Republican ground. He spoke of himself as one of the "Black Republicans," denounced the "awful, odious, abominable Nebraska bill," argued against the Dred Scott decision, and upheld the power of Congress to legislate on territorial matters. Said he:

The validity of the Missouri Compromise was never doubted for thirty years. Congress passed laws fourteen times acknowledging it, but now we have a new and overturning principle. We have some new territories about to become States. The little giant Douglas wants to be President, and a new story, a fresh humbug is started. We are told that Congress must let the territories alone. The



object is to thrust slaves into these new territories. That is what I am opposed to—that is what I have been opposed to all my life.

Stanly went on to say that while free labor was honorable, slave labor was degrading, because Southern youth were brought up to look upon labor as beneath their dignity and never learned to put their necks to the yolk. He trusted he would never see the day that slavery would exist in California in competition with the labor of honest White men.

As for the impending application of Oregon for statehood, "he considered that she had a right to come in as she pleased, and he believed the Union would be just as safe with a majority of ten free states as a majority of one."<sup>36</sup>

The Americans and Whigs were dissatisfied with Stanly's remarks. The conservative *Sacramento Daily Union*, which had formerly spoken highly of his character and talent, now expressed itself as "a good disappointed" with his speech. His "Republican argument" had placed him beyond the reach of the American Party as a candidate for governor: the Americans would not support a candidate who confined himself solely to a discussion of a single sectional issue, while ignoring questions of state policy.<sup>37</sup>

Following his Sacramento address, Stanly made the usual stumping tour, visiting Marysville, Camptonville, Grass Valley, and other mining camps north and east of Sacramento.<sup>38</sup> One of the burdens of his speeches was that he had never sought office, but had always been importuned by the people to *take* office, much to his annoyance.<sup>39</sup> This naturally exposed him to Democratic barbs. The *San Francisco Herald* gibed at this desire on the part of "the great resurrected" to keep out of public life in California and elsewhere:

Unfortunate possessor of great talent!  
Extraordinary example of modest and retiring  
worth! Great disciple of Cincinnatus! Wonderful imitator of Moses, how we honor thee!<sup>40</sup>

The *Herald* published a letter from Joseph G. Baldwin, the author of *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi* (1853), in which Baldwin, writing anonymously as "Jack Cade, Jr.," drew a humorous picture of Stanly being chased out of several states and two territories

by people who wanted him to take office. Wrote "Cade," mocking Stanly: "I swore I never would go into office when I left the Choctaw Nation; and afterwards when I left the Sandwich Islands; but politicians oaths, like lover's prejudices, the gods forget."<sup>41</sup>

During the campaign, Stanly, when in Sacramento, made his headquarters in the office of Cornelius Cole, where he prepared his speeches and other campaign literature. Cole was struck as others had been earlier with Stanly's physical resemblance to William H. Seward. Also, like Seward, "he was extremely particular about everything that emanated from his tongue or pen. In style it had to be as near perfect as human ingenuity could make it." And Cole paid tribute as well to other character traits. "As a gentleman his approach to perfection was as near as that of any man I ever knew."<sup>42</sup>

Stanly returned to Sacramento on July 26 from his tour of the mining camps. John Weller had left that morning on the Marysville boat for a canvass of the northern section of the state.<sup>43</sup> The American Party was meeting in the city on July 28 to consider the nomination of a state ticket. A group of Sacramento citizens submitted four questions to Stanly, for the purpose of having his candidacy considered by the convention, to unite, if possible, all the opposition to the Democrats upon him. The questions were:

- 1st. Do you believe that the people of a Territory have a right to organize a State Government with or without slavery, as they may elect?
- 2nd. If the people of such Territory should form a State Government, authorizing Slavery, would you, if in Congress, vote for the admission of said State into the Union?
- 3rd. Do you believe that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Dred Scott case, determines, finally, all the questions adjudicated by the Court in said case?
- 4th. Are you in favor of the thorough reform of all the abuses existing in our State Governments, . . . and the introduction of rigid economy, strict accountability and unswerving integrity in all the departments of the State Government?<sup>44</sup>

To the first question, Stanly answered simply, "Yes." The second he also answered in the affirmative, adding that he would not have opposed California's admission had her constitution tolerated slavery,



although he rejoiced, as one of her citizens, that it was excluded. While he differed with a majority of the Supreme Court on the Dred Scott decision, he regarded it "as finally determining the points properly before the Court, and to be acquiesced in by all good citizens until overruled." He went for a thorough reform in state affairs—reform which could not be accomplished by the party that had perpetrated the abuses—"the promise-making, promise-breaking Democracy of California." Lastly, he wanted it distinctly understood that he was avowing no new principles but stood only upon the platform of his past life and expressed opinions.<sup>45</sup>

Stanly's affirmative answers did not bring him the American nomination, as they were intended to do. His friends in the American Convention, seeing that they could not carry the delegates for him, favored adjournment without any nominations; but the convention rejected this suggestion and went on to nominate a state ticket, headed by G. W. Bowie, a Sacramento lawyer, for governor.<sup>46</sup> Bowie was a Whig and in 1854 had represented Colusa County in the state assembly. He was not a member of the American Party.<sup>47</sup> The Sacramento *Daily Bee* described him as "an affable and honorable man, a pleasing speaker, of fair ability, but not of much force in a warmly contested canvass."<sup>48</sup> Bowie had been "favorably disposed" toward Stanly before the latter's Sacramento speech had changed his opinion of him.<sup>49</sup>

The Republican press bitterly denounced the proceedings of the American Convention. The Sacramento *Daily State Sentinel* declared that it had been a farce, without a parallel in the political annals of the state. Emphatically a "Know Nothing Sacramento County Convention," it had been called without authority "by some half dozen insignificant wirepullers" of Sacramento, and had been made up, in the main, of residents, office-holders and hangers-on about the city and county. The *Sentinel* also charged that the American ticket was nominated by pro-Southern "Chivalry Know Nothings" with the express purpose of deceiving the Northern wing into its support while the Southern wing would vote for Weller by hundreds. The San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* predicted Stanly's vote would be materially diminished by this maneuver of "wire-pulling Democrats," since Bowie would get several thousand American votes that otherwise would have gone for the Republican ticket.<sup>50</sup>

To the charge that the American Convention had been controlled by the Weller or Southern influence, the Sacramento *Daily Union* replied that "all this is very unreasonable, as well as totally unfounded." Stanly's emphasis on "Republicanism" had put it out of the power of the Americans to support him as an old line Whig without repudiating their state and national organizations—and identifying themselves with the Republicans. In accordance with the requirements of the 36,000 Fillmore Americans in the state, they had nominated a full ticket.<sup>51</sup>

Before leaving Sacramento for a brief visit to his home, Stanly spoke in the Forrest Theatre on July 30, sharing the platform with Colonel James Zabriskie, one of the best public speakers in California, who, although not a Republican, intended to stump the state for "Stanly and Reform." The Democratic press was charging Stanly with inconsistency because he had opposed the Wilmot Proviso and yet denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He replied that there was a difference between a total prohibition of slavery in the territories hereafter acquired by the United States and the enactment of a law restricting slave territory to a certain line. The Proviso had been regarded in the Southern states as a "declaration of war against the South," while the Compromise was "an adjustment," consecrating a certain portion to freedom, forever, and allowing states south of a certain line, if the citizens thereof wished, to enter the Union with slavery. To enact the Proviso would be an "act of gross injustice and wrong." Said Stanly defiantly: "I denounced this Proviso [in 1850], and I would do it again under the same circumstances. A declaration by Congress that the South should never have any more slave States, I could not support."<sup>52</sup>

This bold avowal must have irritated the "Simon Pures" among the Republicans, but Stanly would not trim his sails. As the San Francisco *Daily Alta California* rightly observed, he had been given the Republican nomination without solicitation and without a request for any declaration that he approved the principles of the party.<sup>53</sup>

A fourth party—the Settlers and Miners—held a state convention in Sacramento on August 4, with about forty delegates present. The Settlers and Miners claimed to have twenty-five thousand votes in California, although this figure was certainly too high. Bowie addressed the convention, after which a letter from Stanly to F. B. Austin, the secretary of the Settler's General Committee, was read to the delegates.



Stanly endorsed the party's demand that actual settlers ought to be considered the legal owners of disputed property until the contrary was proved. Bowie's name was then withdrawn and Stanly was nominated for governor by acclamation.<sup>54</sup>

It was now the turn of the Weller and Bowie press to cry foul. The Sacramento *Daily Union* complained that the Settlers and Miners Convention had been emphatically a "city Settler Convention" of delegates from San Francisco and Sacramento with only a few "real Settlers" present from the country, and nearly all of them had withdrawn. The *Daily Union* suggested that the real Settlers set up a genuine convention in Sacramento about August 20, from which city delegates would be excluded. The San Francisco *Herald* said the convention had represented the Settlers "just as much as it did the Royal Antiquarian Society, or the Philanthropic Association of Marriageable Spinsters for supplying the subjects of the King of Dahomey with flannel shirts and red night-shirts, and that the result arrived at will not have the effect of changing one single vote."<sup>55</sup> In fact, the nomination added little to Stanly's strength.

Among the party-press in California, seven dailies and twenty-one weeklies supported the Democratic ticket; two dailies and two weeklies the American ticket; and four dailies and two weeklies the Republican ticket. The Republican press included the San Francisco *Chronicle*, the *State Sentinel* (Sacramento), *Marysville Herald*, *North Californian* (Oroville), *San Jose Telegraph*, and *El Clamor Público* (printed in Spanish) in Los Angeles. The Spanish paper in Los Angeles took down Stanly's name after the publication of his Settler letter.<sup>56</sup>

The Republicans had county tickets running in fourteen counties out of forty-three: El Dorado, Placer, Nevada, Sacramento, Sutter, Yolo, Butte, Amador, San Joaquin, Santa Clara, Alameda, San Francisco, and San Mateo.<sup>57</sup> The Sacramento Republicans offered to meet the Americans halfway and make a county union ticket of respectable and substantial citizens to insure the defeat of the Democratic ticket, but their overtures were rejected.<sup>58</sup> The Sacramento *Daily Union* reported no evidence in the papers of any Republican organizations whatever in the strongly Democratic southern counties.<sup>59</sup>

Stanly, accompanied by James Zabriskie, made a second stumping tour of the mining camps, beginning in Stockton on August 7, speaking

in San Joaquin, Tuolumne, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Placer, Nevada, Plumas, Colusa, Shasta, Siskiyou, and Trinity counties.<sup>60</sup> The "knowing ones" in the Republican Party conceded privately that they could not elect their state ticket without American support; but Stanly gibed at the Know Nothing Order in his public speeches likening it to a June-bug, "bigger the first day he comes out than he ever is afterwards." He humorously advised the Know Nothings to lay aside their "follies" and help the Republicans in their effort at state reform, assuring them that "these Republicans are not such bad people as you suppose."<sup>61</sup> Speaking again in Sacramento on August 26, Stanly, in what the Sacramento *State Sentinel* termed "one of the most effective, as well as sarcastic speeches of the campaign," was very severe on the secrecy and proscription of the Know Nothings and claimed that Bowie had been nominated solely for the purpose of insuring Weller's election.<sup>62</sup>

The Democrats regarded the success of their ticket as a fixed fact and did not make much effort in the canvass. Stanly's Democratic opponent, John Weller, concentrated his attacks on the Republicans and had little to say about the American Party. John Carr, who heard him speak at Petaluma, wrote later that "for nearly two hours he poured into the Republican ranks such a tirade of abuse as I think has never been excelled in the State." Weller advised the Americans, if they were true Americans, to come over to the Democratic Party and save their country, he appealed to all Democrats to stick to their ticket and not scratch a single name. He remarked that "no good Democrat ever scratched his ticket," and when someone in the crowd asked if he was going to vote for himself, he replied: "Yes sir, I am; I always vote for the best man, and when I vote the whole of the Democratic ticket I know I am voting for the best man."<sup>63</sup>

Stanly made his final speeches of the campaign in and around San Francisco, addressing a "Grand Rally of the Settlers" in the Music Hall on August 28 and a Republican meeting in the same hall on August 31.<sup>64</sup> With three major tickets in the field—Republican, Democratic, and American, the final issue was not in doubt. The Sacramento *Daily Bee* declared that it was "almost beyond a peradventure that the entire Democratic ticket will be elected by a sweeping majority."<sup>65</sup> The election took place on September 2, 1857; and, as the first returns



came in, it was apparent that Weller would easily win. He rolled up enormous majorities in the southern counties and ran well elsewhere in the state.<sup>66</sup>

With Weller's victory assured, interest centered on the race between Stanly and Bowie, with the backers of each in suspense as many bets depended on the result. The "first dash" from the mountains frightened Stanly's friends badly, but his large vote in San Francisco, Alameda, and Santa Clara counties checked the Bowie tide.<sup>67</sup> The *Sacramento Daily Bee* reported on September 8 that Stanly was ahead by some 2,800 votes, and it would require a good many "thirties and fifties on the Bowie side to overcome this majority."<sup>68</sup> On September 14 the *Daily Bee* noted cheerfully that Stanly was keeping ahead of Bowie in the southern "Cow Counties"—"in Santa Barbara, for example, Stanly received three votes and Bowie two! Weller got the remainder. In San Diego, Stanly had one vote and Bowie none!"<sup>69</sup>

Complete returns gave Weller 53,122 votes to Stanly's 21,040 and Bowie's 19,481. This vote was 16,630 less than in the Presidential election of 1856, the American vote falling off sharply. Weller received 246 votes less than Buchanan; Stanly 345 more than Frémont; and Bowie some 16,729 less than Fillmore. Weller's majority over Stanly was 32,082; over Bowie, 33,641; over both, 12,601; while Stanly led Bowie by 1,559. Stanly carried only San Francisco and Alameda, polling about half his total state vote in these two counties.<sup>70</sup> The Republicans, it was said humorously, intended to give a public dinner to the lone man in Fresno who voted for Stanly, "if they can find him"; and the Americans were about to do the same thing to the Bowie man in Tulare.<sup>71</sup>

Stanly's showing disappointed the Republicans, since they had hoped for large gains over the previous year; but they put the best face they could on the returns and declared they had "rolled back the united foe without discomfort or loss."<sup>72</sup> Republican leaders were bitter against the Americans, saying they "did not turn out, and most of those that did, voted for Weller."<sup>73</sup> In a letter to the editor of the *Sacramento Daily Union*, written after the election, Stanly charged that the "chivalry Know Nothings" had nominated an American ticket "with the express purpose, among the leaders, of securing the election of the Democratic nominee."<sup>74</sup> The editor replied that the delegates to

the American Convention were "not chivalry men and never had been, but they were and are ardent Americans, who would vote the ticket if it did not receive five thousand votes in the State." It was, therefore, incorrect to say that these men had nominated a ticket for the express purpose of electing Weller.

It would be more correct to say that they nominated a candidate to prevent three-fourths of the Americans in the State from voting for Weller, if the contest were narrowed down to a choice between a Democrat and a Republican. Would it not be equally fair and as true to assert that the leaders in the Republican convention nominated a candidate 'with the express purpose of electing the Democratic nominee.' With their own strength they knew there was not the shadow of a chance for electing their candidate.<sup>75</sup>

In fact, neither the Republicans nor the Americans were willing to yield to the principles or candidates of the other and thus could not unite to defeat a Democratic Party in substantial unity behind Weller's candidacy. Old line Whigs, who made up the bulk of the American Party in California, would not vote for the Republican nominee, even though a former Whig Congressman, once he had expressed what the conservative Sacramento *Daily Union* called the "Republican argument." Although Stanly differed from the Republicans on several points, notably his refusal to endorse the Wilmot Proviso or to disavow the admission of any future slave states, these differences did not commend him to his former political friends, to whom the very word Republican was anathema.

After his defeat, Stanly again returned to the political shades. In the Presidential election of 1860, he favored John Bell and Edward Everett, the candidates of the Constitution and Union Party, but took no part in the campaign. After Abraham Lincoln's election, he wrote his old friend Thurlow Weed of New York that he wished the new President's administration to be successful, "and shall support him in opposition to all democratic mischief-makers shall attempt."<sup>76</sup> In 1861 Stanly spoke out strongly in favor of the Union and against those who wished to establish a separate Pacific Republic.<sup>77</sup> He accepted a position from Republican Governor Leland Stanford as City and County Attorney of San Francisco, but resigned in April, 1862, to accept Lincoln's appointment as Union Military Governor in North Carolina, with the duty of promoting Unionist sentiment in the state.<sup>78</sup>



Stanly took up his new duties in New Bern, North Carolina, on May 26, 1862, but he soon learned that he faced an impossible situation. He was despised as a traitor and renegade by North Carolinians and shut up within the Union lines could get no hearing, while his refusal to approve Negro schools at New Bern aroused the hostility of Northern abolitionists. Stanly resigned his office on January 15, 1863, after Lincoln had issued his final Emancipation Proclamation. He warned the President it would do "infinite mischief" and crushed any hope of realizing peace by any conciliatory measures.<sup>79</sup>

After the war, Stanly supported President Andrew Johnson in his struggle against the Republicans in Congress; in 1868 he canvassed California on behalf of the national Democratic ticket.<sup>80</sup> In language reminiscent of 1857, a Republican journal called him a "superannuated political charlatan" and added for good measure that "he is a perfect old conceited bilk."<sup>81</sup> Despite his work on behalf of the Democrats, he never ceased to lament the demise of the Whig Party, and always spoke of himself as an inveterate old line Whig. He died in San Francisco on July 12, 1872, and is buried in Mountain View Cemetery, Oakland.<sup>82</sup>

#### NOTES

1. The best short summary of Stanly's life is Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, "Edward Stanly," *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and others (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-1958), XVII, 515. (Hereinafter cited as *DAB*.) My own study is "Edward Stanly: Federal Whig" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of North Carolina, 1963).

2. Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795-1848* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1874-1877), XI, 19.

3. John H. Wheeler, *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians* (Columbus, Ohio: Columbus Printing Works, 1884), p. 17.

4. William H. Bailey, Jr., "Reminiscences of North Carolinians: Edward Stanly," Unidentified newspaper clipping in North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina.

5. Frederick W. Seward, *William H. Seward: An Autobiography from 1801 to 1834. With a Memoir of His Life and Selections from His Letters, 1831-1846* (2nd ed.; New York: Derby and Miller, 1891), pp. 492-493.

6. Mary B. Pettigrew to ———, January 7, 1850, in John Herritage Bryan Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

7. Hamilton C. Jones to Elisha Mitchell, February 2, 1819, in Kemp P. Battle, ed., "Letter of Hamilton C. Jones, the Elder," *North Carolina University Magazine*, New Series, XII (April, 1893), 213.<sup>4</sup>

8. Arthur C. Cole, *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington: American Historical Association, 1913), pp. 165-166.

9. Edward Stanly, *Remarks of Hon. E. Stanly, of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, February 11, 1852, in Reply to Mr. Giddings, of Ohio* (Washington: Congressional Globe Office, [1852]), p. 4.

10. Edward Stanly, *Speech of Edward Stanly, of N. Carolina, Exposing the Causes of the Slavery Agitation. Delivered in the House of Representatives, March 6, 1850* (Washington: Gideon & Co., 1850), p. 10.

11. Harriet A. Weed, ed., *The Autobiography of Thurlow Weed* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884), pp. 590-592.

12. Dr. Samuel Henry Dickson to Dr. John A. Dickson, September 7, 1851, in John A. Dickson Papers, The Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

13. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, August 11, 1857.

14. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, August 30, 1855.

The Sacramento *Democratic State Journal*, an outspoken opponent of the Order, hailed Stanly's remarks as worthy of the man and the crisis: "How miserably in contrast stand the disgraceful, disreputable, infamous doctrines of the Thugs. How thoroughly American is every word; how enlightened and liberal!" Sacramento *Democratic State Journal*, September 1, 1855.

15. San Francisco *Daily Herald*, September 20, 1855.

16. Cornelius Cole, *Memoirs of Cornelius Cole* (New York: McLaughlin Brothers, 1908), pp. 112-113. (Hereinafter cited as Cole, *Memoirs*.)

17. John Carr, *Pioneer Days in California: Historical and Personal Sketches* (Eureka, California: Times Publishing Company, 1891), pp. 328-329. (Hereinafter cited as Carr, *Pioneer Days in California*.)

18. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), p. 59. (Hereinafter cited as Davis, *Political Conventions in California*.); Edward A. Dickson, "How the Republican Party was Organized in California," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXX (September, 1948), 189. (Hereinafter cited as Dickson, "Republican Party in California.")

19. Edward Stanly to E. B. Crocker, April 7, 1856, San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, April 29, 1856.



## *First Republican Candidate for Governor of Calif.* 269

20. While in the East, Stanly visited in Washington, D.C., where he had dinner with Senator William Seward, who wrote a friend: "Edward Stanley [*sic*] is here from San Francisco, the same true, loyal friend that he always was, and improved moreover by his emancipation from serfdom in [a] slave State." William Seward to ———, July 19, 1856, in Frederick W. Seward, *Seward at Washington as Senator and Secretary of State: A Memoir of His Life, With Selections from His Letters. 1846-1861* (New York: Derby and Miller, 1891), p. 283.

21. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, August 5, 1857.

22. Sacramento *Daily Union*, November 6, 1856.

California's vote in the Presidential election of 1856 is taken from Walter Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots 1836-1892* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), p. 292.

23. Theodore Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco: N. J. Stone & Company, 1885-1898), IV, 202.

24. William Henry Ellison, *A Self-governing Dominion: California, 1849-1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), p. 296.

25. P. Orman Ray, "John B. Weller," *DAB*, XIX, 628-629.

26. Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 9, 1857. See also San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, July 10, 1857.

27. Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 9, 1857.

28. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, August 11, 1857.

29. Cole, *Memoirs*, p. 130.

30. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, July 10, 1857.

31. San Francisco *Daily California Chronicle*, July 10, 1857; Sacramento *Daily Bee*, July 11, 1857.

32. Edward Stanly to F. M. Haight and others, July 13, 1857, San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, July 14, 1857.

33. Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 11, 1857.

34. *Ibid.*, August 18, 1857.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1857.

37. *Ibid.* See also Sacramento *Daily Bee*, July 20, 1857.

38. Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 20, 1857.

Charles E. De Long, a local Democratic leader, who heard Stanly at Camptonville, thought he made "a mighty poor break of it"; but refrained from a reply owing to the lateness of the hour. Carl I. Wheat, ed., "'California's Bantam Cock' The Journals of Charles E. De Long, 1854-1863," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, IX (June, 1930), 153.

39. Oscar T. Shuck, *Bench and Bar in California. History, Anecdotes, Reminiscences* (San Francisco: The Occident Printing House, 1889), p. 280.

40. San Francisco *Herald*, July 20, 1857.

41. *Ibid.*, August 10, 1857.

Stanly was also vulnerable because of his four-year absence from national politics and his public admission that in that period he had not read four political speeches or a political platform of any party. The *Herald* ridiculed his candidacy on this account; called him "this political fossil, this Rip Van Winkle, this modern mummy of politics"; and queried sarcastically: "What Witch of Endor has scared this political bunch of dry bones from their charnelhouse?" *Ibid.*, July 18, 1857.

42. Cole, *Memoirs*, p. 131.

43. Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 27, 1857.

44. David Meeker and others to Edward Stanly, July 27, 1857, San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, July 28, 1857.

45. Edward Stanly to David Meeker and others, July 27, 1857, *ibid.*

46. Davis, *Political Conventions in California*, p. 81.

47. Sacramento *Daily Bee*, July 30, 1857.

48. *Ibid.*

49. Major G. W. Bowie to the editor of the Union, August 16, 1857, Sacramento *Daily Union*, August 18, 1857.

50. Sacramento *Daily State Sentinel*, July 30, August 7, 1857; San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, August 4, 1857.

51. Sacramento *Daily Union*, August 3, 4, 1857.

52. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, August 11, 1857.

53. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, August 5, 1857. The *Alta* noted that Stanly's published letters plainly indicated "that he differs with the party on several important points."

54. Davis, *Political Conventions in California*, p. 83; San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, August 6, 1857; Edward Stanly to F. B. Austin, August 2, 1857, San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, August 4, 1857.

55. Sacramento *Daily Union*, August 4, 5, 6, 1857; San Francisco *Herald*, August 6, 1857.

56. Sacramento *Daily Bee*, August 19, 1857; Sacramento *Daily Union*, August 28, 1857.

57. Sacramento *Daily Union*, August 28, 1857.

58. Sacramento *Daily Bee*, July 13, 1857.



*First Republican Candidate for Governor of Calif.* 271

59. *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 28, 1857.

60. *Sacramento Daily Bee*, August 3, 5, 1857.

61. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, August 11, 1857.

62. *Sacramento Daily State Sentinel*, August 27, 1857; *Sacramento Daily Bee*, August 27, 1857.

63. Carr, *Pioneer Days in California*, p. 343.

The Republicans in the counties north and east of Sacramento worked with some effect upon the prejudices of the Irish miners against Weller, charging that in the Senate he had defended those nativists who with "mob violence and outrage" had assailed the Papal Nuncio, Monsignor Gaetano Bedini, during his visit to Cincinnati, Ohio, in December, 1853. *San Francisco Daily California Chronicle*, July 29, 1857.

For this and unspecified "other causes," the *Sacramento Daily Union* predicted Weller's name would be stricken from a great many tickets. *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 1, 1857.

64. *San Francisco Daily California Chronicle*, August 29, September 1, 1857.

65. *Sacramento Daily Bee*, August 19, 1857.

66. *San Francisco Daily California Chronicle*, October 7, 1857. Examples: San Bernardino, Weller 414, Stanly 7, and Bowie 0; Fresno, Weller 276, Stanly 1, and Bowie 0; Los Angeles, Weller 1304, and Stanly 82.

67. *Sacramento Daily Bee*, September 8, 1857.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1857.

70. *San Francisco Daily California Chronicle*, October 7, 1857.

71. *Sacramento Daily Bee*, September 29, 1857.

72. *San Francisco Daily California Chronicle*, September 24, 1857.

73. Quoted in Peyton Hurt, "The Rise and all of the 'Know Nothings' in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, IX (March-June, 1930), 116.

74. Edward Stanly to Editor of the *Union*, September 7, 1857, *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 9, 1857.

75. *Ibid.*

76. Edward Stanly to Thurlow Weed, December 10, 1860, in Thurlow Weed Collection, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester.

77. *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, February 24, 1861.

78. Edward Stanly to Leland Stanford, April 9, 1862, *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, April 11, 1862.

79. Edward Stanly to Abraham Lincoln, January 15, 1863, *Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives*, 40 Cong., 1 Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), Report No. 7, 731-732.

80. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, October 11, 1868.

81. Quoted in an unidentified newspaper clipping from a Sacramento newspaper, dated October, 1868, in a Bancroft scrapbook, "Educated Men of California," in the Bancroft Library, University of California.

82. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, July 13, 15, 1872.



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# More Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner, Including Tributes and Bibliographies

By RUTH FREY AXE

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THREE BIBLIOGRAPHIES of the publications of Henry R. Wagner appeared during his lifetime. The first, *The Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner* (Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1934), contains 60 unnumbered titles. "The Check List of Henry R. Wagner's Published Writings" at the end of his *Bullion to Books* (Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1942) has 97. One hundred and sixty-seven numbered works are listed in *The Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner* (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1955). This 1968 addition brings the number of titles to 177. It is noteworthy that *The Life and Writings of Bartolomé de las Casas*, Number 177, is a work which Wagner had carried on unceasingly for twenty years and which he believed to be his greatest.

These publications, both by number and variety, give evidence of Wagner's great diligence in many fields of research. Most of the works are definitive and were issued in small editions. Time and again requests are made for new editions or republications. The best proof of their worth is the use that countless scholars have made of them. It is impossible to list here the many credits, quotations, and references made by bibliophiles, cartographers, historians, and other scholars who have used, are using, and will continue to use as source materials the 177 published works of Henry R. Wagner.

Moreover, his yet unpublished works will continue to appear. Scheduled by the Zamorano Club for publication in 1969 is the definitive Index to H. H. Bancroft's *History of California*, with an Introduction by Henry R. Wagner. The Introduction was completed by Wagner in 1950, the Index is in preparation by Everett and Anna Marie Hager, and was initiated and carried on at Wagner's behest. Thus, his

works will continue to be published for years to come and the list of Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner will continue to grow. Articles about him, tributes and dedications to him will continue to appear frequently; consequently, a few are appended. In Henry R. Wagner's own words, "Better publish what you have and let the other fellow add to it."

#### MORE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF HENRY R. WAGNER

168. *The Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner, Issued by the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles at the First Far Western Meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America, held at the Henry E. Huntington Library on August 27, 1955, in honor of Henry R. Wagner. With a Foreword by Lawrence Clark Powell and a Preface by Francis P. Farquhar* (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1955). Half-title, verso blank; recto blank, verso portrait "Henry R. Wagner" by Don Hill; Title in red and black, verso blank; Foreword, p. v; Preface, pp. vi-vii; Preface to the 1934 edition, pp. viii-x; Half-title, verso blank; Text 28 pages; P.W. with printed label, "The Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner;" 500 copies printed; actually published before No. 167.

169. *One Rare Book* (Los Angeles: The Zamorano Club, 1956). P.P.W., 1 blank leaf; Title, verso blank; Text 15 pages with Colophon on verso of the last; 250 copies printed at the Ward Ritchie Press for Thornton G. Douglas for private distribution to members of the Zamorano and Roxburghe clubs and other friends of Henry R. Wagner, in commemoration of his ninety-fourth birthday on September 27, 1956; blank leaf at end.

170. "Dispersal of Mexican Imprints of the Sixteenth Century," *The Yale University Library Gazette*, XXXII (July, 1957), 22-26.

171. "Henri Ternaux Compans: A Bibliography Henry R. Wagner San Marino, California, U.S.A.," *Revista Interamericana de Bibliografía*, VII (July-September, 1957) 239-254. Portrait [pen-sketch by Harold Fonseca] "Henry R. Wagner (1862-1957)"; published posthumously, for Wagner died on March 28 of this year; appearance of this bibliography originally intended to coincide with Wagner's ninety-fifth birthday on September 27.

172. "A Pope's Blunder: Henry R. Wagner on Cano and Llorente," *UCLA Librarian, Supplement*, XI (December 18, 1957), [1]-3. Introduction and Conclusion written and signed by Roland Dennis Hussey.

173. *Coastal Exploration of Washington by Robert Ballard Whitebrook: With a Foreword by Henry R. Wagner* (Palo Alto, California: Pacific Books, Publishers, [1959]). 2 blank leaves; Half-title, verso author's name vignette of sailing ship in red; Foreword by Henry R. Wagner; Title,



verso copyright 1959; Dedication p. [v], verso blank; leaf with quotation from Bruce Catton p. [vii], verso blank; Foreword [signed] Henry R. Wagner, San Marino, California, April, 1954, pp. ix-xv, verso blank; Preface, pp. xvii-xxi, verso blank; Contents, p. xxiii, verso blank; Charts, p. xxv, verso blank; Text 102 pages; Anchorages and Landings (with thirteen unnumbered sepia charts included in pagination), pp. 103-22; Appendices, pp. 123-27; Footnotes, pp. 129-38; Bibliography, 139-46; 1 blank leaf at end; 900 copies printed in May, 1959.

174. *Alphonse Pinart, Journey to Arizona in 1876: Translated from the French by George H. Whitney; Biography and Bibliography of Pinart by Henry R. Wagner; Introduction and Notes by Carl S. Dentzel* (Los Angeles: The Zamorano Club, 1962). 1 blank leaf; Half-title, verso blank; Title, verso copyright by the Zamorano Club; Dedication, p. vi, verso blank; Introduction, pp. vii-[xii]; Contents and Illustrations, p. [xiii], verso blank; Half-title, verso blank; "Alphonse Pinart: A Biographical Note by Henry R. Wagner," pp. 1-7, verso blank; Half-title, verso blank; Facsimile Title-page of *Catalogue de Livres Rares et Précieux*, verso blank; "The Books of Alphonse Pinart Catalogue," pp. 13-17, verso blank; Half-title, verso blank; Facsimile Title-page of *Voyage dans l'Arizona par Alphonse Pinart*, verso has Facsimile double-page map (folded in) "California Méridionale et Arizona"; Text 22 pages; Half-title, p. [45], verso blank; Source References for Notes Clarifying Pinart's Account, p. [47], verso blank. Colophon "Journey to Arizona in 1876, has been designed & composed by Saul Marks at the Plantin Press, printed by Grant Dahlstrom at the Castle Press & bound by Ward Ritchie at the Silverlake Bindery. Five hundred copies have been printed for the Zamorano Club, Los Angeles, September, 1962"; 2 blank unnumbered leaves at end; printed as a keepsake for distribution at the joint meeting of the Roxburghe and Zamorano clubs held in Los Angeles in September, 1962; copies not reserved for members were to be sold at \$10.00.

175. *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century by Henry R. Wagner* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1966). 1 blank leaf; Title-page, verso contains note "Reprint of the original edition San Francisco, 1929. With kind permission of the California Historical Society. Printed in the Netherlands"; Title [same as original], verso copyright 1929; Preface, pp. v-vi; Contents, p. vii; Illustrations, p. viii; 571 pages and 16 maps inserted; about 450 copies of this reprint issued in August, 1966, at the price of \$20.00; bound in a lighter shade of blue cloth than original; spine has a red label with gold lettering, "Wagner Spanish Voyages to the Northwest;" contents same as 1929 edition; volume and page size slightly smaller.

176. "Caxton not a Printer," in *Zamorano Choice: Selections from the Zamorano Club's Hoja Volante, 1934-1966. Compiled, with a Foreword,*

by W. W. Robinson (Los Angeles, The Zamorano Club, 1966). 1 blank leaf; Half-title, verso has Facsimile first page of the first issue of *Hoja Volante*; Title, verso copyright; [Foreword], pp. v-vi; ["How It All Started"], p. vii, verso blank; Contents, pp. [ix-x]; Half-title, p. [xi], verso facsimile of pages of club's first publication; Text, 128 pages; Blank page, verso colophon "Three hundred copies of Zamorano Choice published by the Zamorano Club and printed as a joint venture by Grant Dahlstrom at the Castle Press, Ward Ritchie at the Ward Ritchie Press, Saul Marks at the Plantin Press, Richard Hoffman at California State College at Los Angeles, and bound by the Silverlake Bindery, September, 1966." Reprint of No. 88 of *The Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner* (1955), pp. 10-15. There are numerous references to Wagner elsewhere in the volume.

177. *The Life and Writings of Bartolomé de las Casas* by Henry Raup Wagner with the collaboration of Helen Rand Parish (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1967). 1 leaf with printer's device, verso blank; portrait of "Henry Raup Wagner, in his Eighties. Photograph by James N. Doolittle," verso has "Portrait of Bartolomé de las Casas, in his Eighties. Engraving by Tomás López Enguidanos"; Title, verso copyright by The University of New Mexico Press, 1967; Contents, pp. vii-x; "Henry Raup Wagner, 1862-1957" [signed] George P. Hammond [biographical sketch, see No. 18 appended "Outcroppings"], pp. xi-xiv; "Wagner's Life and Writings of Casas" [signed] Helen Rand Parish, pp. xv-xx; Foreword [signed] Henry R. Wagner, pp. [xxi]-xxv, verso blank; Text 250 pages; Half-title "Narrative and Critical Catalogue of Casas' Writings," pp. [253]-298, verso blank; List of Locations and Abbreviations, pp. [299]-304; Index, pp. 305-310; end paper; bound in maroon cloth with gold device on front cover; two thousand copies printed by The University of New Mexico Press to sell at \$12.50; one hundred copies with new Title-page, "Documents and Narratives concerning the Discovery & Conquest of Latin America. New Series, Number Five. The Cortés Society, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California"; contents are the same as the trade edition and with the same titles except for statement, "Published for the Cortés Society by The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque;" bound with the customary gray binding of the Cortés Society volumes.

ERRATA IN 1955 EDITION OF  
PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF HENRY R. WAGNER

13. "No. 1, July" should read "No. 2, October" (and this item should then come between 18 and 19).

15. "pp. 96-109" should read "96-99."

18. "New" should read "A." ("New" is the caption of the review, but not the title of the book reviewed).



23. Portions of this text were included in later editions of this prospectus.

28 bis. Some Detached Notes by Henry Chapman Ford on the Missions of California in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, Vol. III, No. 3, October 1924, pp. 238-44.

Although Mr. Wagner's name does not appear here, he signed his own and other copies.

47. "Vol. VII" should read "Vol. VIII."

54. "p. 401" should read "pp. 401-2."

74. A few copies have both articles bound together with new title page: Ferdinand C. Ewer A Sketch of his Life in 1860 Extracted from his scrap-book, *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society for December, 1934, and March, 1935.

88. "p. 5" should read "pp. 5-7."

101. Add "[sic]" after "John" in the title of the article. Cook's name was James.

166. Reprinted in 50 copies with P. P. W. but not repaged.

167. "four" should read "three."

#### CITATIONS AND DEDICATIONS

Among many honors bestowed upon Henry R. Wagner were memberships in distinguished honorary societies. Two which he especially prized were those in the Royal Geographical Society and the American Antiquarian Society. He also received several honorary degrees.

#### HONORARY DEGREES

The honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred upon him by President C. K. Edmunds at the second semester convocation of Pomona College, held in Bridges Hall, February 7, 1935. Dr. Frank W. Pitman, head of the history department, in making the presentation cited Mr. Wagner as "the preeminent authority and historian of early Spanish history and of early Spanish exploration in southern and lower California, on which he has written several books and collected numerous others."

At the convocation held in Yale University, October 18-19, 1946, Mr. Wagner received the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters from his Alma Mater, *in absentia*, an exceedingly rare mark of distinction. In making the presentation, Dr. Chauncey B. Tinker cited Mr. Wagner as author, bibliophile, and book collector whose "reputation as a collector is equaled only by his skill as a bibliographer."

The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was presented to Mr. Wagner at the University of California at Los Angeles on March 21, 1949. The citation, made by Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California, read: "Successful mining engineer and business executive on three continents; friend and patron of two generations of young historians; leading authority on the exploration of the coast of California in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries; an amateur scholar, who has earned a reputation for historical research of the highest quality."

#### DEDICATIONS

Camp, Charles L., Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Dorothy H. Huggins, and Carl I. Wheat, *Essays for Henry R. Wagner* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1947), wrote the following dedication:

Dr. Henry R. Wagner  
San Marino, California

Dear Friend:

In anticipation of your eighty-fifth birthday, on September 27, 1947, we have each prepared an essay in humble emulation of your work in the joint field of bibliography and history. Combined in this volume they constitute our tribute to you as a helpful critic and an inspiring leader.

We recall with pleasure the days when you brought about the revival of the California Historical Society. It was then, in the 1920s, when you were living in Berkeley, that we first knew you and came under your stimulating influence. Later, when you moved your residence to San Marino, it was counted a happy day when we could call on you at your home and receive the warm greetings of Mrs. Wagner and yourself. We have been happy, too, in the genial discourse around the table and among our books on the occasions of your visits to San Francisco.

Well may it be said that you have found within yourself that Fountain of Youth long sought in vain by your friends of the Sixteenth Century. Affec-



tionately yours [signed by the authors named above]. [Dated] San Francisco, September 10, 1947.

Streeter, Thomas W., *Bibliography of Texas, 1795-1845* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), Part I, Volume I, made this dedication:

To Henry Raup Wagner, The Old Master in whose footsteps I have tried to follow.

Wheat, Carl I., *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (San Francisco: San Francisco Institute of Historical Cartography, 1957), Volume I bears the dedication:

To the memory of HENRY RAUP WAGNER whose scholarly endeavors did so much to extend and clarify knowledge of the American West and its background, whose counsel was at all times so freely proffered, and whose suggestions proved so welcome over many years, this volume—representing an examination of but a single segment of the world of learning he made so much his own—is dedicated with affectionate recollection and abiding respect.

Lovelace, Maud Hart, *What Cabrillo Found: The Story of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1958), wrote the following dedication:

This small book pays grateful tribute to the memory of a great bookman  
HENRY RAUP WAGNER.

Greenwood, Robert, ed., *California Imprints, 1833-1862: A Bibliography* (Los Gatos: The Talisman Press, 1961), wrote:

This book is respectfully dedicated to the memory of those who pioneered in the study of California Bibliography: Robert E. Cowan, Douglas C. McMurtrie, Henry Raup Wagner.

*Alphonse Pinart Journey to Arizona in 1876* (Los Angeles: The Zamorano Club, 1962), contains this dedication:

Dedicated to the memory of two great American bookmen, distinguished members of the Roxburghe Club and the Zamorano Club, Robert Ernest Cowan [and] Henry Raup Wagner, honoring the 100th anniversary of their birth.

## HENRY R. WAGNER MEMORIAL AWARD

In 1959 the California Historical Society established The Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award "to honor one of the West's eminent historians, founder of the *Quarterly*, key member of the group which revived and reorganized the Society in 1922. The award is to be made annually to the author of the work published within the preceding two calendar years in the field of California history, cartography, or bibliography, which the Awards Committee shall deem most worthy of recognition." The commemorative gold medal, which bears a profile likeness of Henry R. Wagner, is the work of Sculptor William G. Huff. Recipients are as follows:

1. "The Wagner Memorial Award," *California Historical Society Notes*, XI (September, 1959), 1-2.
2. "The Wagner Memorial Award Presentation to Carl I. Wheat," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVIII (December, 1959), 358. Photograph on opposite page.
3. "The Wagner Memorial Award Presentation to Father Maynard Geiger O. F. M.," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXIX (December, 1960), 358. Photograph on opposite page.
4. "The Wagner Memorial Award Presentation to Dale Morgan," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXX (December, 1961), 366-370. Photograph facing page 366.
5. "The Wagner Memorial Award Presentation to Thomas W. Streeter," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLI (December, 1962), 368-373. Photograph facing page 368.
6. "The Wagner Memorial Award Presentation to George P. Hammond," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLIV (March, 1965), 72-77. Photographs [74-75].
7. "The Wagner Memorial Award Announcement of Recipient, Francis P. Farquhar, and Presentation to him at Wagner Memorial Award Dinner to be held on September 27, 1966," in *California Historical Society Notes*, XVIII (September, 1966), [1]-2.



OUTCROPPINGS

The rich vein of Henry R. Wagner's scholarship shone mostly in his own publications but also gleamed through the publications of others. Lawrence C. Wroth, Perry Worden, and Joseph Henry Jackson are three distinguished reviewers who often made perceptive personal references to him. Dr. Edwin Carpenter has been his principal biographer. Anecdotal glimpses also frequently appeared in bookdealers' catalogues, such as Eberstadt's, Lathrop G. Harper's, Henry Stevens Son & Stiles', Dawson's, Parke-Bernet's, and others too numerous to name. Thus, the list that follows may be regarded as only a sampling of the many publications which have appeared about Henry R. Wagner.

1. Hanna, Phil Townsend, "Bibliotheca Californiana: A review of literature—new and old—about the Spanish voyageurs," *Touring Topics* [now *Westways*], XXI (December, 1929). Portrait, p. 42.
2. Carew, Harold D., "One among the Wise Men High Lights in the Life of Henry R. Wagner, Mining Engineer and Oracle on the Geography and History of the Pacific West," *Touring Topics* [Westways], XXIII (October, 1931), 26-27, 36-38. Portrait, p. 27.
3. Tinker, Chauncey B., [Citation for L. H. D. Degree for Henry R. Wagner], *Yale Alumni Magazine*, X (November, 1946), 11-12.
4. "Wagner, Citizen of the World," *Hoja Volante*, XV (May, 1947), 20.
5. Robinson, W. W., "The All Wagnerian month and Henry R. Wagner cuts a Birthday Cake," *Hoja Volante*, XVII (November, 1947), 1-4. Portrait, p. 2; reprinted in *Zamorano Choice* (described above under No. 176), with a new title, "Henry R. Wagner and His 85th Birthday," pp. 109-114, with facsimile of frontispiece and title page of *Bullion to Books*, pp. 112-113.
6. Hanna, Phil Townsend, *A Note on Wagner the Gourmet* (Pasadena: Ampersand Press, 1948). P.P.W., 1 blank leaf; Title, verso blank; Remarks made at a testimonial dinner for Dr. Henry Raup Wagner, conducted by the Zamorano Club, Los Angeles, on the evening of September 10, 1947, verso blank; Text 6 pages: Addenda [signed] H. R. Wagner, pp. 7-9, verso contains Colophon; Printed by Grant Dahlstrom for the members of the Zamorano Club, March, 1948.
7. Bleiler, Everett F., ed., *The Checklist of Fantastic Literature* (Chicago: Shasta Publishers, 1948). Epigraph of this volume, one of the most unusually located "Outcroppings" of the Henry R. Wagner vein, is a quotation from his *Bullion to Books*:

My general reason was simply a desire that the labor performed in compiling a bibliography should not be lost. It might be of service to someone. In bibliographic work, after one has accumulated ninety-five per cent of the information he desires, he finds the remaining five per cent almost impossible to obtain. No sooner has the bibliography appeared on the market than somebody comes forth to announce that he or she has a book not mentioned in it, and after a while these sometimes amount to quite a disreputable number. . . . Better publish what you have and let the other fellow add to it. That has always been my principle, and I think it is the right one.

8. Robinson, W. W., "Wagner has a Birthday," *Hoja Volante*, XXV (November, 1949), 2.

9. Hill, Don, "Henry R. Wagner's 90th Birthday," *Hoja Volante*, XXXIII (November, 1952), 8. Portrait by Don Hill.

10. *In Memoriam Tributes Paid at the bier of Henry Raup Wagner, Litterarium Humaniorum Doctor, April 1, 1957, Forest Lawn Memorial-Park: Glendale, California* (cover title) ([Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1957]). P.P.W.; Half-title, "Henry Raup Wagner," verso blank; "Of the Man," by Phil Townsend Hanna, pp. 3-4; "His Devotion" by Marcus Esketh Crahan, p. 5; "His Work" by Lawrence Clark Powell, pp. 6-11; "His Friends" by Francis Peloubet Farquhar, pp. 12-14; Colophon, p. [15]; "300 copies printed for the friends of Henry Raup Wagner by the Zamorano Club, Los Angeles at the Press of Anderson, Ritchie & Simon"; published in June, 1957.

11. Hammond, George P., "Henry R. Wagner 1862-1957," *C.U. News*, XII, No. 14 (April 4, 1957), 4-5.

12. Camp, Charles L., "Our Founder, Henry R. Wagner, is Dead," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVI (March, 1957), 79-82. Portrait of Henry Raup Wagner, LL.D.

13. Powell, Lawrence Clark, and Francis Peloubet Farquhar, "Henry R. Wagner, 1862-1957" and "A Pageant of the Friends of Henry R. Wagner Assembled in the Kingdom of Quivira on April 1, 1957," *Antiquarian Bookman*, XIX (May 13, 1957), [1782]-1784. Portrait on cover "Henry R. Wagner (photo by Don Hill, 1952)"; editorial note states that the two articles were eulogies given at the "Bibliographical Burial" service.

14. Bliss, Carey S., "A Last Visit with Henry R. Wagner," *The Southern California Chapter Antiquarian Booksellers Association, Bulletin*, No. 2 (Summer, 1957), 4.

15. Streeter, Thomas W., "Henry R. Wagner, Collector, Bibliographer, Cartographer and Historian," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVI, (June, 1957), 165-75.

16. [Harding, George L.], "Henry Raup Wagner 1862-1957" (San Francisco: California, 1957). 1 blank leaf; photo by Edgar Kahn; Frontispiece pasted in facing title, caption "Mr. Wagner in his Garden, Easter Week, 1949;" Title with laurel wreath in blue, verso contains [Note signed] G.L.H.; 200 copies in paper covers for members of the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco and the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles; 50 copies in boards



for libraries and friends; printed by Lawton Kennedy in September, 1957; Contents 18 pages; contains three articles reprinted from the *California Historical Society Quarterly*.

17. Streeter, Thomas W., "Henry R. Wagner and the Yale Library," *Yale University Library Gazette*, XXXII (October, 1957), 71-76.

18. Hammond, George P., and Jerry E. Patterson, "Henry Raup Wagner, 1862-1957," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXVII (November 1957), [486]-494. "Biographical Sketch" by George P. Hammond, [486]-489; reprinted in No. 177, with the exception of a few paragraphs; pages 489-494 contain "Writings of Henry Raup Wagner in the Latin American Field: A Select Bibliography"; note states this was compiled by Patterson.

19. Streeter, Thomas W., "Obituary Henry R. Wagner," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, LXVII (1957), [6]-10.

20. Powell, Lawrence Clark, *A Passion for Books* (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1958). Title, verso copyright notice; Dedication, pp. [7]-8; Contents, pp. [9]-10; Preface, pp. 11-12; Part One, pp. [13]-14; Text 235 pages. In an anecdote, presented on pages 35-37, Dr. Powell describes his sensitivity to the magnetic attraction of books, stating he had never felt a stronger pull than that which drew him to Henry R. Wagner's great collection of Irish Economics at Yale University Library:

I felt an irresistible urge to turn back several ranges and snap on a light switch. There I walked along the lighted range and looked at solid shelves of pamphlets, thousands upon thousands of them, all in uniform old bindings, really a noble sight of compressed power.

21. Backus, Joseph, "Gelett Burgess visits the Zamorano Club," *Quarterly News Letter*, The Book Club of California, XXIV (Winter, 1958), 6-10.

22. Colmer, E. V., *Book Collecting World*, II (September 24th, 1962), 1-2, lists some of many commemorative exhibitions held throughout the nation's libraries to honor the 100th anniversary of Wagner's birth.

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29. Powell, Lawrence Clark. *Bibliographers of the Golden State* (Berkeley: The University of California, 1967). P.P.W.; one unnumbered leaf stating "Two hundred copies of this the seventh Annual John Howell and Zeitlin & Ver Brugge Lecture on Bibliography have been especially printed for the ILAB International Congress at San Francisco, and the International Antiquarian Book Fair at Los Angeles. With the Compliments of Jake and Josephine Zeitlin & Warren R. Howell, September, 1967," verso blank; Title page, verso state "Printed at the Plantin Press, Los Angeles;" Foreword, verso illustration; Text 29 pages, verso Acknowledgements.

In his sparkling account of Henry Raup Wagner the author notes Mr. Wagner's great knowledge in many fields and the variety of his publications. Dr. Powell states: "He was the final arbiter on voyages to the West Coast, on the Spanish Southwest, on 16th century Mexican imprints, and on the literature of the Plains and Rockies."

The past decade has seen ten reprints and major publications of Henry Raup Wagner in some of the many fields in which he was and will remain "the final arbiter." No doubt the years to come will see many more.



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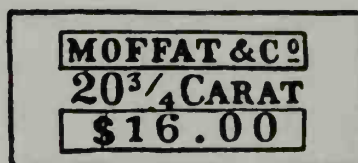
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Vol. XLVII	Contents for December 1968	No. 4
------------	----------------------------	-------

---

The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770	291
-------------------------------------	-----

By Theodore E. Treutlein

Reginald del Valle: A California Diplomat's Sojourn in Mexico	315
---	-----

By Kenneth J. Grieb

California Progressives and Foreign Policy	329
--	-----

By Thomas G. Paterson

Katherine Philips Edson and the California Suffragette Movement, 1919-1920	343
---	-----

By Jean Loewy

Book Reviews	351
--------------	-----

News of the Society

In Memoriam	366
-------------	-----

Members of the Society	369
------------------------	-----

Committee Members of the Society	377
----------------------------------	-----

Officers of the Society	378
-------------------------	-----

Index to Volume Forty-Seven	383
-----------------------------	-----

By Everett G. and Anna Marie Hager

## BOOK REVIEWS

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| STERN, <i>California Jewish History: A Descriptive Bibliography</i> ,<br>by Manuel P. Servín   | 351 |
| MATHES, <i>The Pearl Hunters in the Gulf of California, 1668</i> ,<br>by Noel J. Stowe   | 352 |
| HAMMOND, <i>Informe on the New Province of California, 1702</i> ,<br>by Noel J. Stowe  | 352 |
| BURRUS, <i>Wenceslaus Linck's Diary of His 1766 Expedition to<br/>Northern Baja California</i> , by Noel J. Stowe  | 352 |
| SHEPPERSON, <i>Retreat to Nevada: A Socialist Colony of World War I</i> ,<br>by Robert W. Davenport  | 356 |
| BAILEY, <i>Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest</i> , by Sydney B. Brinckerhoff   | 357 |
| GIBSON, <i>Spain in America</i> , by Theodore E. Treutlein   | 358 |
| JONES, <i>Pueblo Warriors &amp; Spanish Conquest</i> , by Donald C. Cutter   | 360 |
| FARQUHAR, <i>Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of<br/>William H. Brewer, Professor of Agriculture in the Sheffield<br/>Scientific School from 1864 to 1903</i> , by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. | 361 |
| ARRINGTON, <i>Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho<br/>Sugar Company, 1891-1966</i> , by John E. Baur   | 362 |
| FRIIS, <i>The Pacific Basin: A History of its Geographical Exploration</i> ,<br>by W. Michael Mathes   | 363 |



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# The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770

By THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN

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THE YEAR 1969 is the first year of the Bicentennial (1769-1770) of the Portolá Expedition which began the Spanish colonization of California, the Spaniards' "Upper" or "New" California. The salient accomplishments of the year 1769 were the opening of a land route from Lower to Upper California, the founding of the San Diego Presidio and Mission (in May and July), the marking of a land trail from San Diego to the San Francisco Peninsula (in broad outline the beginning of *El Camino Real*), and the discovery of San Francisco Bay.<sup>1</sup>

The original objective of the expedition, as ordered by the Visitor General of New Spain, Don José de Gálvez, was the exploration by land and by sea of the port of Monterey, which had been discovered by Sebastián Vizcaíno in 1602, and its occupation for the Crown through the founding of a presidio and mission. This objective, as shall be noted, was not attained until April in 1770. The immediate occasion for the Monterey program, thought of as a revival of the Vizcaíno plan, was the alarm felt by Spain's policymakers at the ambitions of the Russians (and doubtless also the English) in the North Pacific, still considered by Spain to be a "Spanish possession," a part of their *Mar del Sur*.

The program for exploration and colonization was specifically projected in the Council of War held on May 16, 1768, at San Blas,<sup>2</sup> although the San Blas council, in turn, rested upon a royal order of His Majesty Don Carlos III of January 23, 1768. The soldiers, sailors, missionaries, muleteers, sappers, and Lower California Indians who made up the several parts of what is called the Portolá Expedition after its leader, Don Gaspar de Portolá, Governor of Lower California, were the instruments of state policy involved in the international rivalry of that day.

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THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN, Ph.D. in history, University of California at Berkeley, a professor of history at San Francisco State College, is translator and annotator of *Pfefferkorn's Description of the Province of Sonora*, and *Missionary in Sonora*.

On the eve of the Portolá Bicentennial it is fascinating to contemplate the vicissitudes of the Spanish pioneers as they came by land and by sea into sparsely populated Indian California. Modern anthropologists have measured the Indian population of Upper California in 1769 rather variously, but somewhere in the neighborhood of one hundred and fifty-thousand souls is probably a fair estimate. The Spanish expansionist program envisaged an ultimately complete inclusion of these natives within the Spanish social order, and the first stage of Indian policy was to make friends with the natives. The poundage in glass beads and other trinkets which was carried by muleback with the explorers could have been better used to transport flour for the hungry members of the land party had it not been considered important to please the natives. After making friends, the Franciscan Fathers with the expedition were to found missions as centers for the spreading of the Faith and for the general "civilizing" of the Indians. To most Spaniards a "good Indian" was a pacified, Christianized Indian, not a "dead Indian," as many in Anglo-American frontier regions preferred him to be. Actually, many members of the Portolá Expedition were themselves Indian, or part Indian (mestizo), and there were at least three in the land party which explored the coast searching for Monterey who are referred to in the diaries as mulattoes.<sup>3</sup>

When the expedition made its start from Lower California the only known route to Upper California was by the sea, but a land route up the Lower California Peninsula was considered a possibility. The expedition was organized into four parts: the flagship *San Carlos* (alias *Toisón de Oro*), skipper Vicente Vila; the *San Antonio* (alias *El Príncipe*), skipper Juan Pérez; and the two land parties, in the van and second in command, Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada;<sup>4</sup> and lastly, Commander Gaspar de Portolá his very self, accompanied by the Franciscan Father President of the future California missions, Fray Junípero Serra.

Visitor Gálvez had decreed that not only should the several parts of the expedition rendezvous in San Diego but also that (in Gálvez' own words) "one of the most interesting objects of this expedition should be to explore, and settle if it be possible, the port of San Diego."<sup>5</sup> The expedition's ships arrived at San Diego in April (*San Antonio* on the 11th and *San Carlos* on the 29th), the ships' companies having suffered



frightfully from a virulent, mortal infection referred to as scurvy, but its ravages among crew and passengers were so extreme as to raise a question about its true nature.

After the arrival of the ships at San Diego the illnesses increased. An enclosure was built "close to the beach, on the east side of the port, with a parapet of earth and brushwood, and mounted with two cannon. Some sails and awnings were landed from the vessels and, with these, two tents suitable for a hospital were made. On one side were placed the tents of the two officers (Fages and Costansó), the missionaries (Father Fernando Parrón of the *San Carlos*, and Fathers Juan Vizcaíno and Francisco Gómez of the *San Antonio*), and the surgeon (Pedro Prat). When everything was ready to receive the sick, they were brought on shore in the launches, and were housed in the tents as comfortably as possible.

"These measures, however, were not sufficient to restore their health; for medicines and fresh food, most of which had been used up during the voyage, were wanting. The surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, supplied this want as far as possible, with some herbs which he sought with much trouble in the fields and whose properties he knew. He himself needed them as much as his patients, for he was all but prostrated by the same disease as they. In the barracks the cold made itself severely felt at night, and the sun by day: extremes which caused the sick to suffer cruelly. Every day, two or three of them died and the whole expedition, which had been composed of more than ninety men, was reduced to only eight soldiers and as many sailors who were in a condition to assist in guarding the ships, handling the launches, protecting the camp, and waiting upon the sick." So wrote the "color-sergeant of engineers and cosmographer" who had arrived aboard the *San Carlos*, Miguel Costansó, in his *Diario Histórico*, translated as *The Narrative of the Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770*,<sup>6</sup> "the first book that relates exclusively to California," concerning the unhappy conditions in the spring of 1769 at San Diego, before the land parties reached that port.

The Rivera party arrived on May 14, all in good health. After a rest of one day the officers decided to move the camp close to the river "which had not been done before because it was not deemed advisable to divide the small force they had for the protection at once of the vessels and of the people lodged on shore; at the same time, the greater

convenience of a shorter distance for the transportation had to be taken into consideration, in order not to tire unduly the men who were handling the launch, as the want of beasts of burden obliged them to carry on their shoulders everything that was brought on shore.

"All moved to the new camp which was transferred one league further north to the right of the river,<sup>7</sup> on a hill of moderate height, where it was possible to attend with greater care to the sick, whom the surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, did not leave for a moment and nursed with the utmost kindness." This move occurred on the 15th of May 1769, which may then be taken as the beginning of the San Diego Presidio (at Presidio Hills, Old Town, San Diego), and Captain Rivera, then in command, was its founder.<sup>8</sup>

Commander Portolá reached San Diego with a few soldiers of the second division of the land force on the 28th of June (the rest of his party arrived on 1 July), all members of his group also being in good health. Despite the difficulties at San Diego, Portolá decided that he would as soon as possible continue the march to Monterey.

The force which now would attempt to reach Monterey numbered something over sixty men. Father Fray Juan Crespi who had arrived with Rivera was the official diarist, and he listed some members of the expedition by name and others by number, so that from his account simple arithmetic provides us with a total of sixty-three to sixty-four persons. Yet, oddly, Crespi in making a total of the membership of the expedition stated that it numbered seventy-four persons in all.

Lacking as we do a complete roster of the exploring party, it is possible only to provide the following description of its membership.<sup>9</sup> There were Commander Don Gaspar de Portolá; Captain Rivera y Moncada and his twenty-seven cuirassiers, referred to as *soldados de cuera* or "leather-jackets," because the usual armor of these mounted soldiers was replaced in the northwest Mexican frontier with a sleeveless jacket of quilted deer or sheepskin; Lieutenant Pedro Fages and six or seven Catalan Volunteers (one of whom was named Antonio Yorba); Engineer Miguel Costansó; Fathers Juan Crespi and Francisco Gómez; the great scout, Sergeant José Francisco Ortega; seven muleteers and fifteen Christian Indians. The two missionaries and Portolá and Rivera are each known to have had a personal servant. Among the soldiers whose names can be provided were in addition to Yorba, Pablo



Antonio Cota, Juan José Robles, José María Soberanes (founder of that numerous family), Sergeant Pedro Amador, Juan Bautista Alvarado (grandfather of the later governor of California), Bernardino Alvarado, José Raimundo Carrillo (founder of that famous early California family), perhaps a Guillermo Carrillo, Francisco Javier Aguilar, Francisco and Gerardo Peña, Juan Bautista Valdés, Juan Ismerio Osuna, one Romero, Ignacio Lugo, Mariano Verdugo, and Sergeant Juan Puig.

Before the expedition was scheduled to make its start "the governor ordered out six soldiers and a corporal to explore the country for the distance of the first two days' marches. These soldiers left on the 12th of July, and returned on the afternoon of the following day with the information that they had found a watering-place sufficient for the men and horses at a distance of six or seven leagues" (or roughly eighteen to twenty-one miles).<sup>10</sup>

We do not know the name of the corporal who led the first party of scouts north of San Diego and whether he continued with the exploring party or remained at the San Diego Presidio. During the expedition it was often Sergeant Ortega who scouted the route. The esteem in which Ortega was held is revealed in the writings of Father Serra in his March, 1773, report to Viceroy Bucareli in Mexico.<sup>11</sup> Serra stated that during the march from Lower California to San Diego Portolá had instructed Ortega to explore ahead daily the route which would have to be followed, and so "for more than a month that our journey lasted, he continued to go ahead the whole time, covering more than three times the distance that the rest of the expedition had to cover. He forged ahead in search of watering places and camping spots; then he would come back with the information, and guide us to the spots he had discovered. The single soldier who was his companion was sometimes changed, but the Sergeant never."

Serra further informed the viceroy that Ortega continued his good work when the expedition moved to the north. "Fathers Crespi and Gómez, who accompanied the expedition as far as the Port of San Francisco, told me," wrote Serra, "that, during all the trip, the part taken by Señor Ortega was most remarkable. Even though Captain Rivera was appointed as first explorer, always was the Sergeant employed in the same capacity, especially when they tried to find the port in various directions. And he was the man that went the farthest in

exploring the estuaries of San Francisco, in search of a crossing to the other side, which was never found."

When the expedition was ready to leave San Diego, Miguel Costansó tells us what happened:

The departure of the expedition from San Diego took place on the 14th of July 1769. The two divisions of the land-expedition marched together, the commander making this disposition on account of the great number of animals and packs. This was because provisions and supplies alone required one hundred packs, which he believed necessary to supply the whole company during six months, and to provide for them in case of delay of the packet-ships, although it was thought impossible that in the meantime the one or the other of them should fail to reach Monterey.

The following order was observed on the marches: at the head rode the commander with the officers, the six men of the Catalan volunteers who had joined the expedition at San Diego, and some friendly Indians with spades, pick-axes, crowbars, axes, and other implements used by sappers to cut the brush and to open a passage wherever necessary. Next followed the pack train which was separated into four divisions, each one with its muleteers and an adequate number of soldiers of the garrison as an escort. In the rear-guard came Captain Fernando de Rivera, with the rest of the soldiers and friendly Indians, convoying the spare horses and mules.

The soldiers of the presidio in California [from Loreto, on the peninsula], of whom justice and fairness oblige us to say that they worked incessantly on this expedition, use two sorts of arms—offensive and defensive. The defensive arms are the leather jacket and the shield. The first, whose shape is like that of a coat without sleeves, is made of six or seven plies of white tanned deerskin, proof against the arrows of the Indians, except at very short range. The shield is made of two plies of raw bull's hide; it is carried on the left arm and with it they turn aside spears and arrows, the rider not only defending himself, but also his horse. In addition to the above they use a sort of leather apron, called *armas* or *defensas*, which, fastened to the pommel of the saddle, hangs down on both sides, covering their thighs and legs, that they may not hurt themselves when riding through the woods. Their offensive arms are the lance—which they handle adroitly on horseback—the broadsword, and a short musket which they carry securely fastened in its case. They are men of great fortitude and patience in fatigue; obedient, resolute, and active, and we do not hesitate to say that they are the best horsemen in the world, and among those soldiers who best earn their bread for the august monarch whom they serve.

It must be borne in mind that the marches of this body with so great a train and [so many] obstacles, through unknown lands and on unused roads, could not be long. Not to mention other reasons that made it necessary to halt and camp early—the necessity of reconnoitering the country from day to day in



order to regulate the marches according to the distance between the watering-places, and consequently to take the proper precautions. Sometimes they resumed their journey in the afternoon immediately after watering the animals, upon the reliable information that on the next stage there was little or no water, or a scarcity of pasture.

Stops were made, as the necessity demanded, at intervals of four days, more or less, according to the extraordinary hardships occasioned by the greater roughness of the road, the labor of the sappers, and the straying of the animals—which happened less frequently with the horses—that had to be sought by their tracks. At other times, because it was necessary to accommodate the sick when there were any—and in course of time there were many—whose strength gave way under the continuous fatigue, and the excessive heat and intense cold.

But the pack-animals themselves constitute the greatest danger on these journeys and are the most dreaded enemy; though without them nothing could be accomplished. At night, and in a country they do not know, these animals are easily frightened. The sight of a coyote or fox is sufficient to stampede them—as they say in this country. A bird flying past, or dust raised by the wind is likely to frighten them and to make them run many leagues, throwing themselves over precipices and cliffs, defying human effort to restrain them, and it afterwards costs infinite pains to recover them, nor is this always possible; and those that were not killed by falling over a precipice, or lamed in their headlong race, are of no service for a long time. This expedition, however, suffered no serious detriment on this account, owing to the care and watchfulness which were always observed; and although, on some occasions, the animals were stampeded, no accident or injury whatever followed, because the stampede was of short duration.

In the order and manner described, the Spaniards made their marches over vast territories which became more fertile and more pleasant the further they penetrated to the north.<sup>12</sup>

It should be noted that Spanish voyages of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had provided the Portolá Expedition with a detailed navigators' description of the West Coast of North America, as far as Cape Mendocino. Such information was summarized in a navigator's handbook by Admiral José González Cabrera Bueno (*Navegación Especulativa, y Práctica* [Manila, 1734])<sup>13</sup> in the form of sea routes (*derrotas*), including descriptions of coastal islands, headlands, and ports, complete with their latitudes. The diarists of the Portolá Expedition, notably Costansó and Crespi, make direct references to Cabrera's book, their "road map." They hugged the coast as much as possible to take maximum advantage of Cabrera's instructions and also, of course,

because they were seeking the port of Monterey (always spelled correctly *Monterrey* in the early writings).

On July 16, two days after the expedition left San Diego, Father Serra, who had remained there, carried out the orders of Visitor General Gálvez and founded a mission dedicating it to San Diego de Alcalá,<sup>14</sup> owing to the circumstance that in the year 1602 Vizcaíno had dedicated the port to that saint (thereby replacing the name *San Miguel* which had been bestowed upon San Diego when the bay was discovered by Rodríguez Cabrillo in 1542). At the time of the mission's founding, Portolá and his force were a mere eighteen miles north, near Del Mar.

The northward march of the expedition divides itself rather easily into several stages which emerge owing to the nature of the terrain and the objectives of the party during different parts of the journey.<sup>15</sup> The first of these stages was the rather uneventful journey, July 14-28, thirty-three leagues, from San Diego to the Río de los Temblores (Santa Ana); July 29 to August 4, some fifteen leagues, took them across the Los Angeles plain from Santa Ana to a location in the vicinity of the modern Santa Monica; August 5-13, they turned from Santa Monica through the Sepúlveda Canyon, across the San Fernando Valley, over to the Santa Clara River Valley of the South and down it to Santa Paula, travelling twenty-one leagues; August 14-27, from Santa Paula to the coast and along the Santa Bárbara Channel to Point Conception, twenty-seven leagues; August 28 to September 26, the party struggled up the coast from Point Conception and through the Santa Lucía Mountains, near the Salinas River, covering some forty-seven leagues; September 27 to October 30, they searched rather desperately for the port of Monterey, traveling thirty leagues; they left Rincón de las Almejas (corner or nook of the mussels) just north of Montara on the 31st of October, and by the 6th of November were encamped in the vicinity of Palo Alto, nine leagues farther. Engineer Costansó considered this camp, the Estero de San Francisco, as their northernmost position and noted that there they were one hundred and ninety-seven leagues from San Diego.

The Estero camp was left on the 11th of November and the return to the Monterey area covered the period from that date to the 28th of November, with forty-seven and one-half leagues having been traversed; they remained at the Ensenada de Pinos (beyond Río Carmel



near Pt. Lobos) until December 10 and then proceeded as rapidly as they could to San Diego, where they arrived on the 24th of January, 1770.

The duration of the entire exploration, from San Diego to San Francisco Bay and return, had thus occupied the period from July 14, 1769, to January 24, 1770, during which approximately four hundred leagues, some twelve hundred miles, were covered. In this one hundred and ninety-five-day journey were included fifty days of rest stops, or more correctly, "nonmovement" days, to rest the fatigued men and animals, to care for the sick, and to permit local explorations to be made, especially when the explorers were in the known latitude of Monterey Bay.

The period from July 14 to November, one hundred and sixteen days with thirty-one nonmovement days, covered the march from San Diego to the southern end of San Francisco Bay, in the Palo Alto area. From November 11 to January 24, 1770, a total of seventy-five days, with fifteen nonmovement days, the explorers returned to San Diego. It may also be noted that during the northward march eighty days (with fourteen rest days) were spent in reaching the Monterey area, but on the return from there to San Diego familiarity with the route and the shortage of supplies caused the party to cover that distance in forty-four days (with three rest days included). Later, during the successful march to Monterey (April 17 to May 24, 1770), the time was further reduced to thirty-eight days, including two days for rest. As already noted, during the movement into unknown territory the main party was always preceded by the scouts. The distance traversed by scouting parties was thus *three times* the distance traveled by the entire party (not counting local explorations in the Monterey Bay and San Francisco Bay regions). The Spanish explorers were professionals. It seems unlikely that they would have subjected the same individuals to such excessive amount of travel over the distance traveled by all. Often it was Sergeant Ortega who led the scouts. Captain Rivera, however, was sometimes their leader, and on the first day out of San Diego the unknown corporal (possibly Robles) did the exploring.

Notable features of the several stages of the march of Portolá may now be examined. In the journey from San Diego to Santa Ana, Father Crespi's description of the later site of Mission San Luis Rey holds some

interest. The valley appeared so beautiful and green that it seemed to the members of the party that it had been planted. Gifts were exchanged with the numerous Indians, the Spaniards distributing beads and the "heathen" responding with orations and presents of fish nets spun from a hemp-like fiber. Here the women "were modestly covered, wearing in front an apron of threads woven together which came to the knees, with a deerskin in back. To cover the breasts they wear little capes made of hare and rabbit skins, of which they make strips and twist them like rope. They sew these strips together, to protect them from the cold as well as for covering for modesty's sake. Most of the women go clothed in the same manner, but all the men go as naked as Adam in Paradise before he sinned, and they did not feel the least shame in presenting themselves before us, nor did they make any movement to cover themselves, just as though the clothing given them by nature were some fine garment."

From the San Diego area and into the Los Angeles plain the Indians worked with clay, and on two occasions during this part of the journey Father Crespi reported seeing natives smoking clay pipes, though what was being smoked is not reported.

The party reached the Río de los Temblores (where Santa Ana now stands) on the 28th of July, the name being bestowed by Father Crespi because of a "horrifying earthquake, which was repeated four times during the day." Engineer Costansó referred to the earthquake in the same language and explained that one of the natives who was in their camp and whom he took to be a "priest" began "with horrible cries and great manifestations of terror to entreat the heavens, turning in all directions and acting as though he would conjure away the elements" (*conjuraba los tiempos*). This "priest" may have continued to be quite busy, for during the next days as the party crossed the Los Angeles plain quakes were experienced every day (from July 20 until August 3) and their frequency amazed the members of the expedition. Some were convinced that there were volcanoes in the nearby mountain range. The scouting party saw marshes of pitch, boiling and bubbling, and Crespi speculated that the stuff was in such abundance it would serve to calk many ships. (Their path had led them near to the asphalt beds at *La Brea*).

Since the scouts now reported that passage along the coast would not



be possible (this information having been learned from the Indians), the party turned northward through a canyon (probably Sepúlveda) and entered the San Fernando Valley. Here, on August 6, the natives exhibited a good geographical knowledge of their locality by drawing a map on the earth to show the distribution of the Channel Islands and coast line of the Santa Bárbara Channel. According to both diarists these natives imparted the knowledge that in former times bearded people resembling the Spaniards, dressed and armed as they were, had come into their country from the east. Later in one of his writings Costansó was to express distrust of information provided by native sign language.

The party proceeded down the Santa Clara Valley, past Santa Paula, and presently began to move along the coast of the Santa Bárbara Channel. The natives almost overwhelmed the members of the expedition with their hospitality. They brought gifts of seeds, acorns, and honeycombs formed on frames of cane. "They were a very good-natured and affectionate people." In the region of present Ventura the expedition came upon a large native town composed of some thirty "large and capacious houses, spherical in form, well built, and thatched with grass." The population there was estimated at some four hundred souls.

Constansó wrote in his diary:

The natives are well built, and of a good disposition, very agile and alert, diligent and skillful. Their handiness and ability were at their best in the construction of their canoes made of good pine boards, well joined and calked, and of a pleasing form. They handle these with equal skill, and three or four men go out to sea in them to fish, as they will hold eight or ten men. They use long double-bladed paddles and row<sup>16</sup> with indescribable agility and swiftness. All their work is neat and well finished, but what is most worthy of surprise is that to work the wood and stone they have no other tools than those made of flint; they are ignorant of the use of iron and steel, or know very little of the great utility of these materials, for we saw among them some pieces of knives and sword-blades which they used for no other purpose than to cut meat or open the fish caught in the sea. [The natives explained by signs that the metal pieces had come to them from the "east," and Costansó speculated that native barter had brought these "treasures" to California all the way from New Mexico].<sup>17</sup> We saw, and obtained in exchange for strings of glass beads and other trinkets, some baskets or trays made of reeds, with different designs; wooden plates and bowls

of different forms and sizes, made of one piece so that not even those turned out in a lathe could be more successful.

They presented us with a quantity of fish, particularly the kind known as *bonito* [this was the season to catch it, judging from the ease with which they took it]; it had as good a taste and as delicate a flavor as that caught in the tunny-fisheries of Cartagena de Levante and on the coasts of Granada.

We thought that this was the town which the first Spanish navigators—among others Rodríguez Cabrillo—named Pueblo de Canoas.”

A bit farther up the coast the explorers watched some natives constructing a canoe, and the soldiers dubbed the native village *Pueblo de la Carpintería*.

On occasions along the Channel the natives serenaded the expedition all night long with their whistles and pipes. North of Santa Bárbara Crespi commented that the Indians were not content merely in giving presents, but it was clear that there was rivalry and emulation among the towns to come out best in the presents and feasts in order to win their approbation.

In the afternoon (on 20 August) the chief men came from each town, one after the other, adorned according to their usage, painted and loaded with plumage and some hollow reeds in their hands, to the movement and noise of which they kept time with their songs and the cadence of the dance, in such good time and in such unison that it produced real harmony. These dances lasted all the afternoon, and it cost us much trouble to rid ourselves of the people. They were sent away, charged with emphatic signs not to come in the night and disturb us; but it was in vain, for as soon as night fell they returned, playing on some pipes whose noise grated on our ears. It was feared that they might frighten the horses, for which reason the commander went out to meet them with his officers and some soldiers. They gave them some beads and implored them to go, telling them that if they came again to interrupt our sleep they would not be welcome and we would give them an unfriendly reception. This induced them to depart and leave us in peace for the rest of the night.

Costansó noted a special culture trait among the Channel Indians. “Polygamy is not permitted among the people,” he reported. “The chiefs alone possess the right to take two wives. In all of their towns there was noticed a class of men who lived like women, associated with them, wore the same dress, adorned themselves with beads, earrings, necklaces, and other feminine ornaments, and enjoyed great considera-



tion among their companions. The want of an interpreter prevented us from ascertaining what kind of men they were, or to what office they were designed; all suspected, however, a sexual defect or some abuse among those Indians."

By August 26th the party came in sight of Point Conception and there, in the village of the lame chief (*Ranchería del Cojo*) Crespi recorded the curious item that "these heathen have European beads, and when asked they said they got them from the north."

The party now proceeded up the coast, passing Morro Bay on 8th September, and on the 13th they camped at the foot of the Santa Lucía range. Commander Portolá realized that the most difficult part of the journey might lie before them. Therefore he "resolved to rest at this place, and to send out the most intelligent scouts to examine the country completely, penetrating as far as they could without limiting the time of their return. So eight scouts, with Captain Fernando de Rivera, set out after midday."

From mid-September until the last day of that month with immense toil a way was found through the mountains, much of their path being prepared by road-work in which the entire party participated. By the 30th Engineer Costansó could write:

From our camp we could hear the sound of the ocean, but we could not see the shore. Therefore, desirous of knowing on what part of the coast we were, and convinced that we could not be very far from the desired port of Monterey, and that the mountain range which we were leaving behind was assuredly that of Santa Lucía—as we inferred from the account written by Father Torquemada, which treats of the expedition and voyage of General Sebastián Vizcaíno, and from the sailing-directions of the pilot Cabrera Bueno—our commander resolved that the scouts should set out promptly to explore the coast and the mouth of the river.

They returned to say that the river emptied into an estuary which entered the canyon from the sea; that the beach, bordered by sand-dunes, had been seen to the north and south, the coast forming an immense bay; and that, to the south, there was a low hill covered with trees like pines which terminated in a point in the sea.

When one reads this passage it seems strange that the explorers could not recognize from the description of the scouting party the obvious fact that they had, indeed, reached Monterey Bay. Commander Portolá later told a friend that "although the signs whereby

we were to recognize the port were the same as those set down by General Sebastián Vizcaíno in his log, the fact is that, without being able to guess the reason, we were all under hallucination, and no one dared assert openly that the port was indeed Monterey."<sup>18</sup>

A council of war was held consisting of the officers and the missionaries; it was decided to continue the march, to find the port, and hopefully also the supply ship, *San José*, which was supposed to communicate with the expedition somewhere along its line of march or meet with it at Monterey. The month of October was one of utter difficulty. The entire expedition was assailed with doubts about their location, and there was much sickness.

They moved on, crossed the Pájaro River, so-named from the discovery of a bird which the Indians had stuffed with straw. This bird measured eleven spans between wing-tips and resembled an eagle. Two days later (10th October) they saw their first coastal redwoods, and Father Crespi described them without bestowing upon them a specific name. The trees were very tall and had wood of red color; their leaves were very different from that of the cedar; and although the color of the wood was somewhat like that of cedar, it was also very different in not having the same odor. Also, of the trees they found, the wood was very brittle. Since nobody recognized these trees, the Spaniards named them "from the name of their color," wrote Crespi, in a rather precious passage.<sup>19</sup> Engineer Costansó also mentioned these trees in his entry for 15th October. He said they were the largest, highest, and straightest trees that they had seen up to that time; some of them were four or five varas in diameter. Their wood was of a "dull, dark, reddish color, very soft, brittle, and full of knots." The first mention of the redwoods places them in the area between Pájaro and Soquel.

Though the explorers had time to describe aspects of the natural scene, they were mainly concerned with the problems of illness which afflicted the entire force. The exhausted sick were falling from their mules; the party had to proceed very slowly, and some of the sick were carried on side-saddles, "as the women in Andalusia travel." However, between October 22nd when recovery commenced (for which reason they called the camp of that day *La Salud*) to October 30th, the sick ones pretty much regained their health. Therefore, they were ready for the great surprise which was to confront them in the next few days;



namely, the clear indication that they had passed Monterey and that they were now in the environs of the port of San Francisco.

On the 31st of October the party left the Rincón de las Almejas (in the lee of the Montara Hills where they had eaten copiously of mussels) and followed the scouts to the top of the ridge. From the summit they saw outer San Francisco Bay, now known as the Gulf of the Farallones. They could see Point Reyes, island-like in the distance, some white cliffs (perhaps at Drake's Bay or Bolinas) lying to the north, and the Farallones, "and it seemed to us beyond all question," wrote Costansó, "that what we were looking upon was the port of San Francisco; and thus we were convinced that the port of Monterey had been left behind."

The party made camp in San Pedro Valley. On the morning of November 1 Commander Portolá sent out Sergeant Ortega with a scouting force; his charge being to explore for three days, and during that time to reach the port of San Francisco (Drake's Bay), described by Cabrera Bueno as lying under Point Reyes. The following day, November 2, soldiers who had gone deer-hunting into the hills above the camp returned with the report of a great "arm of the sea or estuary" which extended inland "as far as they could see, to the southeast." They were reporting the first known sighting of present-day San Francisco Bay.

"We also conjectured from these reports," Costansó stated in his diary, "that the scouts [led by Ortega] could not have passed to the opposite side of the bay, as it was no mere three days' undertaking to make the detour rounding an estuary, the extent of which was greatly enlarged upon to us by the hunters."

When Ortega and the scouts returned on the evening of November 3, they reported excitedly that two days' journey from the place they reached there was, according to the sign language of the natives, a harbor with a ship in it. Commander Portolá now decided to learn the truth of this report, hoping that the supply ship *San José* might be awaiting them. We come, then, to the 4th of November, which in retrospect appears as perhaps the most important day of the Portolá exploration, for in the early afternoon of that day the entire expedition topped the ridge (Sweeney Ridge) east of their San Pedro Valley camp and saw spread out before them the great Bay of San Francisco.<sup>20</sup>

At this time they did not recognize the inner bay as a new discovery, but identified it as *the estuary of Cabrera Bueno's port of San Francisco*, lying under Point Reyes.

In a few years the colonization of San Francisco Bay would become one of the major purposes of the Crown of Spain, and the continuous settlement of the Bay region would date from that event when it finally took place in 1776. However, on November 4, 1769, Portolá's company could think only about the place which Sergeant Ortega had reached and from where in two days' journey he might find the ship. The expedition presumably reached this site on the evening of the 6th of November (in the Palo Alto area). "From this place," Costansó wrote, "the scouts were sent out in order to obtain definite particulars about the port and the ship concerning which the natives had made signs. For this purpose they were allowed four days, and they carried a supply of flour for the assigned period. The sergeant of the presidio went as head of the party, and some Indians accompanied it as guides."

The scouts returned as instructed on the evening of the 10th of November. No port and no ship had been found. On the 11th, a council was convened; the officers gave their votes in writing. The decision was to turn back and search for the port of Monterey which they believed must lie behind them. The missionaries concurred in this estimate of the situation, and Governor Portolá gave the order to break camp.

The return journey may be rapidly summarized. By the 28th of November the party had again reached the site of Monterey; the next day they crossed the peninsula and the Carmel River and set up camp near Point Lobos. Here they remained while local explorations were made to "discover" the port of Monterey. Finally considering that they had failed in this, another council of war was held. On the 7th of December it was decided to return to San Diego. Before leaving on the 10th, two crosses were erected; one near their camp-site, another on the Monterey side of the peninsula, "where the sand dunes and a lagoon are." A lengthy message was buried in a bottle at the foot of the first cross; the second cross contained a message carved upon it with a knife stating that the land expedition was returning to San Diego for lack of provisions.

Their hope was that should the messages be found by the *San José* or the *San Antonio* these vessels would follow along the coast so that



they might be sighted by the expedition and reached by signals with flags or the sound of gunshots.

The discouraged band returned to San Diego on January 24. They approached that settlement with misgivings, for conditions there had been so desperate at the time of their departure in July of 1769. But the first sight of the first California settlement, rude and insignificant as it was, nevertheless cheered them greatly. It is rather amusing to note that Engineer Costansó, the soldier, saw the little cluster of structures as a *presidio*; and Father Crespi, the missionary, referred to it as a *mission*.

The final page of the story informs us that after near disaster at San Diego it was found possible to make a new start to carry out the orders of the Visitor General.<sup>21</sup> This time, in April, 1770, the expedition reached Monterey and recognized it! The formal occupation of Monterey took place on the 3rd of June, 1770, as described by Don Gaspar de Portolá, "Captain of dragoons of the regiment of Spain, Governor of California, and Commander-in-chief of the expedition to the ports of San Diego and Monterey."

Portolá then wrote:

Since it is among the articles of the orders which I am to execute immediately on my arrival at the cited port of Monterey, that I am to take possession in the name of His Catholic Majesty—I ordered the officials of sea and land to assemble, and I begged the Reverend Fathers to be pleased to assist in obeying the said order, directing the troops to place themselves under arms, after notifying them that it had been so ordered, and after these preparations had been made I proceeded to take possession in the name of His Majesty under the circumstances that the decree provides, performing the ceremony of throwing earth and stones to the four winds, and proclaiming possession in the royal name of His Catholic Majesty, Don Carlos III, whom God preserve, and whose possession of the said port of Monterey and other territories that rightfully ought and must be included, must be recognized. After planting the triumphant standard of the holy cross, primary cause of the Catholic, Christian, and pious zeal of His Majesty, which is manifested by the superior orders and perceived in the extent with which his royal exchequer is opened for the purpose of gathering the evangelical seed which is procured to the benefit of the numerous heathen dwelling in it, in order that it may appear at all times I sign it and the gentlemen officials sign it as witnesses. . . ."<sup>22</sup>

Upper California was in a fair way to becoming a Spanish possession!

## NOTES

1. These are the writer's conclusions. The question about the founding of the San Diego presidio is discussed below, p. 4 and note 8.

2. The San Blas Council of War document may be read in its English translation in *The Spanish Occupation of California . . . Junta or Council Held at San Blas . . .* Douglas S. Watson & Thomas Workman Temple II, translators (San Francisco: Grabhorn, 1934).

3. There is no space here to develop at length the subject of Spanish-Indian policy. However, even with reference to the Portolá expedition alone there is a considerable official literature which expresses concern over establishing good relations with the natives and of providing them with the presumed advantages of Spain's civilizing influence. Typical of the official position is the outline on Indian policy found in the Gálvez instructions to Portolá, dated at Cape San Lucas, February 20, 1769, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara 417, Bancroft Library. Paragraphs numbered 3, 9, and 10 in the document are provided here.

Paragraph #3 states: "Among the concerns that will deserve from the Governor all his attention as the head of an undertaking which is directed to the most commendable purposes, and which must be carried out with the wisest direction so as not to upset or to spoil its outcome, I recommend to his zeal and vigilance that he shall cause his soldiers and the muleteers of the company to observe on their part the most complete discipline, especially beyond the frontier of the present missions, making known to all as a point of inviolable ordinance, the good treatment of the Indians, and that punishment will be inflicted as for an unpardonable crime if they commit wrongs or acts of violence upon [the Indian] women, for besides the offense to God which they would commit by such excesses, they might completely endanger this expedition."

Paragraph #9: "While the settlement is being made in Monterey of a presidio and mission with provisional buildings, in accordance with the instruction which I have given upon this point to the engineer, the Governor will remain in that port with all the men of his party and that of Captain Don Fernando de Rivera, and during his stay there he will endeavor to win with affability, sagacity, and prudence the Indians of that province and the vicinity, causing them to understand in whatever way may be possible the great good that will result to them from living in brotherhood with the Spaniards and under the sovereign protection of the King, our master; but of course not enforcing vassalage upon those of other provinces who may come attracted by the novelty, but proposing to them a reciprocal treaty and friendship, drawing up some sort of a document, as well as it can be done, in case conventions or any kind of treaties are made with them."

Paragraph #10: "Since the most proper means for accomplishing the commendable and just purposes to which both the journeys by sea and by land are



directed are certainly to treat the Indians with gentleness and love, without causing them for this reason to believe that they are feared, the Governor must put special thought and care to reconciling these extremes and to cause the rest [of the people] to follow the same example, and not give the natives any just reasons for unpleasantness or distrust. But if, after all prudent measures have been exhausted, there should be any settlements or villages in any of the provinces through which the expedition has to pass which obstinately oppose its passage, let force then be used, such measures being taken as will at the first demonstration make them perceive the superiority of our arms, without shedding any blood, notwithstanding the action. When those who have shown themselves to be enemies yield or render themselves up let them then be readily pardoned, and let the Reverend Father Missionaries do everything that may be dictated by their charity, love, and apostolic zeal with the natives in order to set them right and attract them, but never let the missionaries on the impulse of their fervor and ardent desires expose themselves among the barbarians."

4. Visitor Gálvez appointed Captain Rivera as second in command in an order dated at Real de Santa Ana, August 20, 1768. After stating that Portolá is to be the chief of the enterprise Gálvez continues "[Portolá] needs a second in command, to assist him as far as possible in bringing about the success of the journey, and who may be capable of substituting for him in any emergency that may occur, in order to prevent the failure of an enterprise of such importance, which is to open the way for the early conversion of many heathen, and the extention of the dominions of the King, our master. Since from the activity and zeal with which you serve His Majesty, and your practical knowledge of the Indian natives of the country, I have well-founded confidence that you will perform the duties of the commission to my satisfaction and that of the Governor, I name you for his assistant and second in command in the entrance by land to the aforesaid place of the port of Monterey. I grant to you for this purpose sufficient authority and power, by virtue of the superior and vice-royal powers that are vested in me . . . etc." AGI, Aud. de Guad. 417, Bancroft Library.

5. In Paragraph #5, Instructions of Gálvez to Rivera, Real de Santa Ana, August 20, 1768, AGI, Aud. de Guad. 417, Bancroft Library.

6. Edited by Adolph Van Hemert-Engert and Frederick J. Teggart in *Academy of Pacific Coast History, Publications*, I, No. 4 (Berkeley, 1910).

7. The editors of the *Narrative* rendered the phrase *á la derecha del Rio* as "on the right bank of the river." This has been corrected to read, "to the right of the river," meaning to the right as it was viewed from the harbor. Presidio Hills and Old Town, San Diego, are on the "left bank" of the river, a location than can be pictured best when one recognizes that the river originally emptied into the main harbor, not into what in former times was called "False Bay" (now Mission Bay).

8. Much of the chronology and record of events surrounding the establishment of San Diego's first settlement can be derived from *The Portolá Expedition*

of 1769-1770: *Diary of Vicente Vila*. Edited by Robert Selden Rose in *Acad. of Pac. Coast Hist. Publications*, II, No. 4 (Berkeley, 1911), summarized as items a to e).

a) The ships had first moored near present Ballast Point (identified in the Vila chart as Point *Guijarros*, i.e., "cobblestones," in the lee of "La Loma que cubre el Puerto").

b) Sunday, April 30, Captain Vila sent out an exploring party to find better sources of water than the brackish pools which had been used by the crew of the *San Antonio*. Lieutenant Fages was a member of this exploring party which discovered the San Diego River.

c) By 6 May the ships had been worked farther into the port. Captain Vila stated that "Don Pedro Fages had found by examination of the river-mouths that at high tide the launch could enter quite easily to fill the casks."

d) Between 6 and 10 May a rude settlement was established a small distance east of the San Diego River delta. This was mainly to accommodate the sick. Two cannon from the "packet" were taken ashore, and Captain Vila set these up on "both sides of the lodgings, so that they could be used to protect the men on shore."

e) Captain Rivera reached San Diego on 14 May, and the little shelter was moved to a new site on the 15th.

On 26 June Lieutenant Fages wrote a letter to Visitor Gálvez stating that all proper precautions were being taken notwithstanding the fact that the disposition of the Indians seemed to be good. He wrote, in part "we have taken shelter behind a breastwork garrisoned by two small cannon which were taken from the *Príncipe* in case of an attack by day, and at night I keep two sentinels on guard, changing them every two hours. Don Fernando Rivera takes the same precautions." (As stated above, Captain Vila reported unloading and setting up two cannon from the "packet," and in the context it appeared that he meant the *San Carlos*. Perhaps that ship contributed two guns to the first shelter and the *Príncipe* two to the second). AGI, Aud. de Guad. 417, Bancroft Library.

Sergeant Ortega in his incomplete diary known as the *Fragmento* specifically named Captain Rivera as the one who "selected a site for the settlement" and that in establishing it the "necessary fortification" was not neglected. Ortega, *Fragmento*, C-C 50, Bancroft Library.

However, it is Engineer Costansó who provides us with the best description of the new settlement (upon his return to San Diego from the northern exploration) in his statement: "Its modest buildings, surrounded by a palisade of logs capable of being easily defended in case of need, were found in good condition." Costansó, *Narrative*, 24 January 1770.

9. It has been found impossible to compile an accurate register of names for the expedition. The leaders are listed in the diaries, and some additional names appear in the Ortega *Fragmento*. H. H. Bancroft's "Pioneer Register" provides



some clues as does the "List of the Crew of His Majesty's Packet Named San Carlos" in Bolton Papers, Alta California section, Item 81, Folder 97, Bancroft Library.

10. *The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770: The Diary of Miguel Costansó*. Edited by Frederick J. Teggart in *Acad. of Pac. Coast Hist. Publications*, II, No. 4 (Berkeley, 1911).

11. Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., ed. *Writings of Junípero Serra* (Washington, D.C.: Acad. of Am. Franciscan Hist., 1955), I, 28. Serra to Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, Mexico City, March 13, 1773.

12. Costansó, *Narrative*.

13. The Bancroft Library possesses a copy of this important book.

14. San Diego was the *second* mission founded by Father Serra during the Spanish northward advance to Monterey. The *first* mission founded by the expedition was San Fernando Velicatá (variously spelled in the records), on May 14, 1769. Emphasis often given to San Diego as the *first* mission rests obviously on the fact that geographically it became a part of the new chain of missions in Alta California. To the men of that day it was the next step after San Fernando. See Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., trans. and annotator. *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington, D.C.: Acad. of Am. Franciscan Hist., 1955), Ch. XV, note 2, for the founding of San Fernando.

15. Details of the journey referred to in pp. 10 ff. are based upon Costansó, *Diary*, and Father Juan Crespi's *Diary*, the latter found in Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi: Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast 1769-1774* (Berkeley: U.C. Press, 1927). Professor Bolton's identifications of modern map locations have been followed in this paper.

16. The canoes were, of course, paddled, but Costansó used *vogan*, from the infinitive in the modern spelling, *bogar*, to row.

17. The Franciscan Guardian, Father Juan Andrés, was greatly worried for fear that the California enterprise was being pushed too rapidly. He also expressed worry over the possibility that the California Indians would be less friendly when they discovered that the Spaniards had come to settle, not just to travel through the country. A part of his commentary, which was really presented as a protest before the Viceroy, is quoted here from the presentation to Viceroy Marqués de Croix, July 26, 1770: "It is necessary, Your Excellency, for the friars who may go to take provisions to keep them for a year, because once settled there they will have no one to ask more from and no one to give it. The same thing will have to be done in the case of the large crew that is necessary. On their arrival the Indians brought their atoles and pinoles which they make of the seeds they gather on those great plains, and enough fish. This was attributed to their friendliness and tractableness, but it must be understood that they brought them to sell and not as presents. This is not the first time these Indians have traded with bearded men or Europeans, for from the Santa Barbara channel

on they began to see hunting-knives, knives, and other steel articles, cloth, blue wool, etc., and these same Indians say that seven days beyond where they were discovered there are people like the Spaniards. From this it can be inferred that they trade with them and have secured the articles mentioned in this way. When they found that our men did not pay them, they stopped their supposed gifts, for we know that in the very port of San Francisco they ate too many acorns because of their great hunger and all of them just escaped being made sick. We also know that on the way back to San Diego they were forced to eat the flesh of mules and donkeys. This is the reason it is necessary to take provisions for a year. This requires many mules. Therefore, since we do not think there is much probability that the Indians will be subjugated, we do not think so great an enterprise desirable all at one time. If our sovereign is anxious to establish and fortify himself in these ports, and for this reason would be willing to pay the necessary amounts, may he be welcome, but even in case it should seem desirable to us to found a single mission at Monte Rey and another at San Diego, to take a large number of people who could work and, if the Indians gave them a chance, plant extensively on those plains, which in this way might provide grain for the founding of others, it will always be as Your Excellency wishes to command us, for this simple, candid statement has no other purpose than to prevent its being said at any time that we put the royal treasury to expense uselessly." Bolton Papers, Alta California, Item 91, Folder 26, Bancroft Library.

Father Andrés' view that the California Indians were "dealers" and would not provide food in the form of gifts is not borne out by the record kept in Costansó's *Diary*. However, the expedition was short of its own supplies and hastened the return journey to San Diego partly because of that circumstance.

18. Charles E. Chapman, *History of California: The Spanish Period* (1930), p. 226.

19. Crespi stated that they had seen some *palos muy altos de madera colorada* and because no one in the expedition recognized them they named them *con el nombre de su color*. See the printed Spanish form of the Crespi *Diary* in *Noticias de la Nueva California. Padre Fr. Francisco Palou* [sic] (San Francisco: Eduardo Bosqui y Cía., 1874), Tomo I.

20. The Sweeney Ridge has been designated as a Registered National Historic Landmark by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, May 17, 1968, and this designation came about largely through the efforts of the Portolá Expedition Bicentennial Foundation (San Mateo County Historical Museum), shared in by this writer.

21. See Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *The Life and Times of Fray Junipero Serra, O.F.M.* (Washington, D.C.: Acad. of Amer. Franciscan Hist., 1959), I, Ch. XXX, "The Fate of San Diego Hangs in the Balance" for an excellent and thoroughly documented discussion of the near-disaster of the entire northern California enterprise. This chapter is distinguished for its balanced presentation

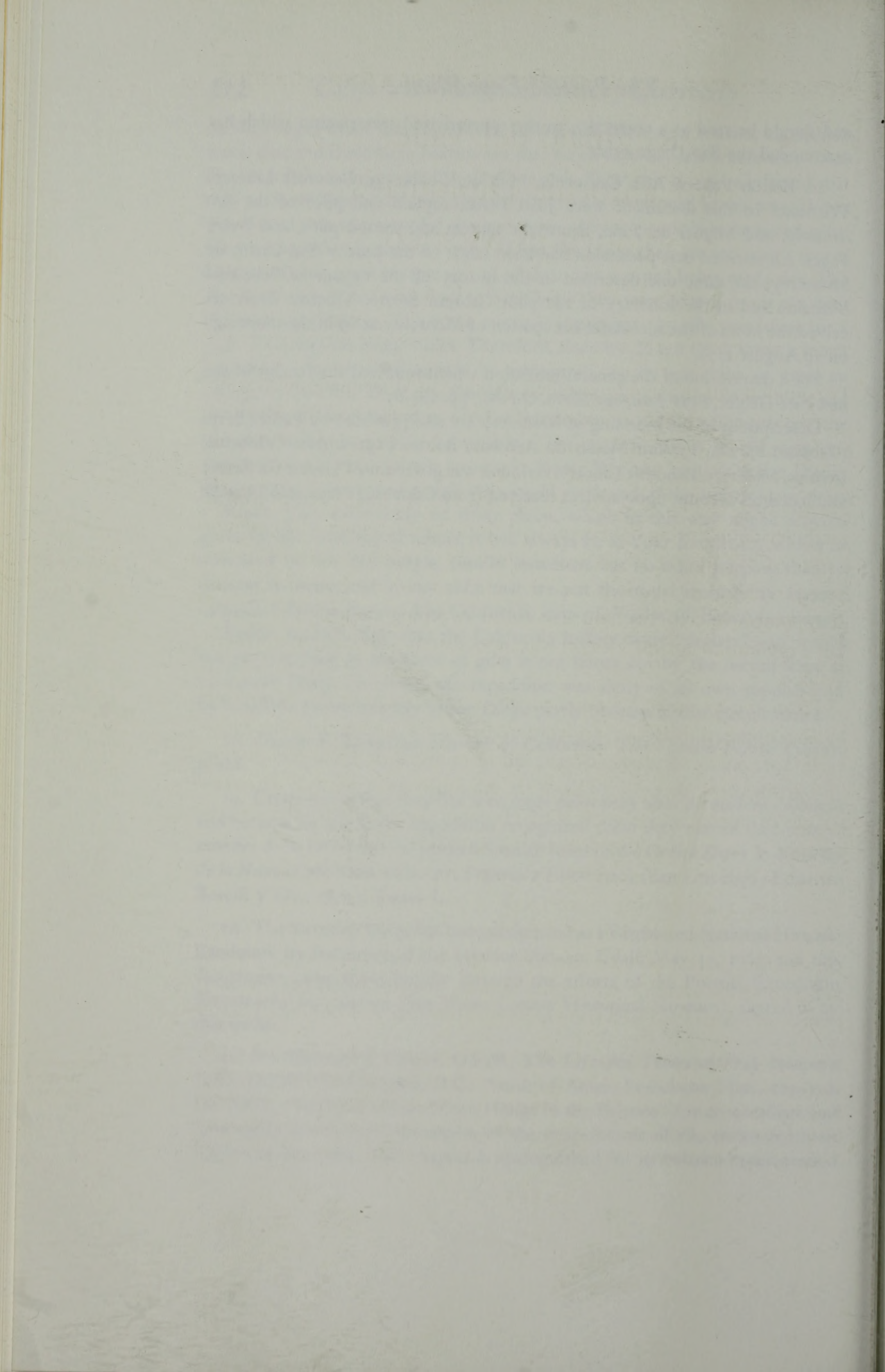


and should be read as a corrective to the romanticized sectarianism which has surrounded the San Diego crisis.

22. Bolton Papers, Alta California, Item 90, Folder 33, Bancroft Library. Witnesses to this document were Juan Pérez, captain and pilot of the *San Antonio*, and Miguel del Piño, lieutenant captain and second pilot, and Pedro Fages. All testified that possession had been taken of the port of San Carlos de Monterey, the same one described in the history of the voyage of Sebastián Vizcaíno and in the itinerary of the pilot Cabrera Bueno. Viceroy Croix received the news of the successful occupation of Monterey at "9 in the morning" on 10 August 1770.

For a description of the general jubilation which followed the receipt of the news see Geiger, *Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M.*, pp. 264-65.

Descriptions of the founding of Monterey are also provided by Father Serra (Tibesar, *op cit.*, I), and Matías de Armona, Bolton Papers, Alta California, Item 90, folder 43, Bancroft Library. Armona was governor of Lower California and based his account upon advices received from Costansó, Pérez, and Portolá.





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# Reginald del Valle

## A California Diplomat's Sojourn in Mexico

*By* KENNETH J. GRIEB

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THE POLICIES of the newly installed Woodrow Wilson administration produced a confrontation between the United States and the Mexican government of General Victoriano Huerta in 1913, and it was this dispute which focused national attention upon former California State Senator Reginald F. del Valle. Victoriano Huerta had seized power in a military coup during February, 1913, ousting the regime of Francisco I. Madero. While the revolt was exclusively a military uprising, it reflected widespread disenchantment with Madero's method of rule and disappointment with his failure to fulfill sweeping campaign promises. Yet a revolution against Huerta was immediately launched in northern Mexico.

From the moment he assumed office in March, 1913, Woodrow Wilson opposed the Huerta government, thus reversing the more moderate Taft policy that would have led to eventual de facto recognition of the Mexican dictator. The Taft administration viewed Huerta's seizure of power in the context of Hispanic American experience, regarding it as a typical governmental turnover. Taft adhered to the principle that internal events were not a proper subject for diplomatic discussions, realizing that the methods of governmental change did not affect the necessity of dealing with the resulting government. Wilson viewed the Mexican situation in moral terms. With his strong religious beliefs and his sense of self-righteousness, Wilson based his Mexican policy on a desire to teach the Mexicans democracy. The United States

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President adopted the stance of a universal moral authority, and assumed that he was able to determine what was best for Mexico. He was convinced that democracy was the most effective form of government, and therefore sought to spread it throughout the entire world. Wilson viewed the Huerta coup as a military uprising stifling representative government. This conflicted with Mexican sentiment, but Wilson never doubted the righteousness of his cause. The chief executive lacked familiarity with Hispanic American problems and traditions when he assumed office. Though he was a diplomatic neophyte, Wilson's principles caused him to plunge into the Mexican imbroglio without hesitation. Because of his idealistic policy, the United States President was concerned exclusively with moral rectitude, and disregarded the antecedents or context of an event. Consequently, Wilson abandoned the traditional diplomatic objectives of seeking national advantages or improved concessions for American investors. Instead, he chose to stand for what he considered right.

Since the American President assumed that only a brutal military dictatorship stood between Mexico and democracy, he decided to force Huerta from office, with the expectation that such an action would inevitably bring representative government to Mexico. This constituted a serious miscalculation, for it ignored Mexican history. With the power of the United States at his disposal, Wilson could exert considerable influence on Mexican events regardless of the veracity of his views. As an initial step, Wilson withheld recognition from the Huerta government. This action placed the United States at loggerheads with the European powers. Continental chancelleries adhered to the traditional diplomatic context and extended recognition to Huerta, viewing his uprising as a normal governmental turnover in Mexico. European diplomats were acutely aware that national interests required them to deal with any Mexican government, and hence avoided inquiry into its antecedents and methods.

The resulting Mexican-United States dispute was complicated by the administration's mistrust of Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson in Mexico City. While the United States government refrained from extending recognition, it maintained its embassy staff in the Mexican capital and continued negotiations with the Huerta regime. The Wilson administration had inherited Henry Lane Wilson from its predecessor.



As a Republican and a Taft appointee, the ambassador was automatically suspect in the eyes of the new Democratic administration. Because of their conviction that the State Department and diplomatic service were overrun with wealthy Republicans, President Wilson and Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan viewed all advice from career diplomats skeptically. They particularly suspected Ambassador Wilson, because of his obvious partiality for the Huerta regime.<sup>1</sup> Henry Lane Wilson viewed the Mexican situation in the context of traditional diplomatic objectives. The ambassador considered promoting American interests in Mexico and aiding American businessmen operating in that country his primary duties. This view was totally at variance with the outlook of the President, whose domestic policy sought the regulation of big business. The chief executive had no intention of facilitating corporate expansion abroad. The situation was complicated by the ambassador's arrogance. Acutely aware that he was a veteran diplomat thoroughly acquainted with the Mexican situation while the administration was facing its first diplomatic problem, the envoy did not hesitate to provide the benefit of his experience. His advice was most unwelcome since it clashed with administration objectives.<sup>2</sup>

Woodrow Wilson would gladly have dismissed the ambassador but for the fact that accrediting a replacement would constitute recognition of the Huerta government. This was a prospect even more distasteful to the President than retaining the ambassador. The chief executive was reluctant to place the embassy in the custody of First Secretary Nelson O'Shaughnessy, and this constituted the only alternative. The President and Secretary of State studiously ignored the ambassador, but retained him at his post while they pondered the possibility of circumventing him. The diplomat frequently complained that he was not informed of policy decisions, and State Department officials rarely forwarded his dispatches to the President. A press campaign against the ambassador created a furor that increased the President's skepticism about the envoy's usefulness.<sup>3</sup>

Because of their mistrust of Henry Lane Wilson, President Wilson and Secretary Bryan felt they lacked accurate information about Mexico, and in order to alleviate this situation they decided to dispatch "special agents" to "investigate" conditions in Mexico. This would provide information from observers who had the confidence of the admin-

istration, and enable bypassing the ambassador. Bryan had suggested this course as early as April 18, and had sent William H. Sawtelle, a Tucson attorney, on a brief exploratory visit to the state of Sonora. President Wilson had previously employed a special agent in the Philippines, and hence was amenable to this proposal.<sup>4</sup> Wilson and Bryan selected the envoys primarily on the basis of loyalty, and deserving Democrats received priority. Friendship with Bryan or Wilson was also essential. The agents invariably were firm advocates of the administration policy before they departed for Mexico, since Wilson and Bryan sought individuals who shared their idealistic outlook and who would provide evaluations that comported with their objectives.

At the end of May, 1913, the administration took its initial step as Bryan dispatched Reginald del Valle to Mexico. The Secretary had complete confidence in del Valle, a friend and political ally. As a United States citizen of Mexican extraction, del Valle was an excellent choice, for he spoke fluent Spanish and was familiar with Mexico. Having served as a California state senator, he was also acquainted with American politics.<sup>5</sup> The squat, mustached agent resembled a typical Spanish gentleman in appearance and would certainly blend into any Mexican crowd. This would enable him to move about the country unobtrusively.

Bryan instructed del Valle to interview influential persons throughout Mexico, in an effort to determine the causes and extent of the dissatisfaction with the Huerta government. The secretary desired information regarding the origins of the rebellion against Huerta, and a first hand evaluation of its chief, Venustiano Carranza. Del Valle was also to observe conditions in Mexico, and investigate the land tenure system. The special envoy carried a State Department code to transmit his dispatches, since the mission was to remain secret. He was directed to act discreetly, and to refrain from identifying his mission even to diplomatic officers.<sup>6</sup> Bryan supplied del Valle with three thousand dollars for expenses, and a letter addressed to all American diplomatic and consular officers in Mexico:

This will introduce the Honorable R. F. Del Valle, a personal and political friend, who is visiting Mexico on professional business. I am glad to commend him to our diplomatic and consular officers as a man entitled to every courtesy and consideration that can be extended to him.<sup>7</sup>



Del Valle traveled to the Mexican frontier for interviews with rebel leaders and refugees on the American side, before proceeding to northern Mexico. In Tucson, he conferred with former governors José Maytorena of Sonora and Felipe Riveros of Sinaloa. The special agent reported that these Carrancista adherents charged the Huerta government with responsibility for all Mexican problems. The Constitutionalists contended that the Huerta regime was totally unacceptable because it had seized power by force, and depicted themselves as fighting only for liberty and democracy.<sup>8</sup>

Del Valle also interviewed numerous exiles who were not affiliated with the Carrancistas, and found that their version of the Mexican crisis contrasted sharply with that of the revolutionary leaders. These refugees attributed the turmoil in Mexico to the Constitutionalists, whom they characterized as "the worst elements in their states." Seeking an extensive sampling encompassing "many shapes of opinion," the envoy conferred with numerous individuals. Their reports indicated extensive confiscation of property by the revolutionaries. The special agent also learned that rebel harassment had forced many businessmen and landowners into exile. Based on these accounts he summed up conditions in northern Mexico: "Facts seem to be great desolation, misery, and starvation . . . work entirely suspended . . . private property taken where ever found, confiscated and sold. Cattle of individuals seized and sold."<sup>9</sup>

The special agent then journeyed throughout northern Mexico to observe conditions personally, and his reports substantiated the refugees' accounts. Del Valle found that a state of paralysis existed in Constitutionalist controlled areas, due to disorganization and widespread terror. He reported that the rebels employed forced loans extensively, and had confiscated property throughout the region under their dominance. The envoy noted that all "substantial citizens" had sought refuge in the United States to escape rebel harassment.<sup>10</sup>

During his sojourn in northern Mexico, the emissary conferred with the principal Constitutionalist leaders, and his assessment of these revolutionary chiefs was far from flattering. While he depicted Governor Ignacio Pesqueira as "a very amiable man," the envoy characterized the governor's advisers as "dangerous." Del Valle interviewed Carranza, and described him as "personally a good appearance, little ability, nar-

row, inordinate stubbornness, inclined to severity, not liked." Carranza obviously "did not desire to discuss the political conditions of Mexico," because "he did not wish to be tied down to any agreement." Del Valle noted that the revolutionary leader "seemed to fear that I had some proposition to which I would insist on binding him." The envoy concluded that Carranza's statements indicated that he was "anxious to precipitate trouble" with the United States, though noting that Americans were not being molested. The special agent criticized Carranza's "lack of broadness" and "injudicious leadership." Del Valle concluded that the rebel leaders were merely seeking personal power, despite their high sounding pronouncements.<sup>11</sup>

Bryan found del Valle's assessment of the revolutionary leaders disconcerting, but ignored the implications. Wilson and Bryan focused on the idealistic statements of the Carrancistas, accepting their professions of democracy and disregarding their actions. The Secretary and the President were enchanted by the very name of the rebel movement—the Constitutionlists. Noting that the envoy "does not seem to be favorably impressed with Carranza," Bryan minimized the interview by informing Wilson: "Possibly Carranza is irritated because of our refusal to allow them to take arms across the border, or . . . because of our warning in regard to the Americans who were arrested."<sup>12</sup> This was a strange attitude, but the Secretary was so enamored by Constitutionlist pronouncements, that he whimsically dismissed the assessment of his own agent, attributing these impressions to the personal pique of the rebel leader.

Despite his disappointment with del Valle's impressions of the revolutionaries, Bryan directed him to proceed with his mission and travel to central Mexico to observe conditions in the government controlled areas. The Secretary also instructed the emissary to confer with Emiliano Zapata and southern revolutionary leaders, and evaluate the situation in the central plateau during his visit to Mexico City. This was in addition to del Valle's mission to confer with and assess the government personnel. President Wilson approved this plan.<sup>13</sup>

Upon his arrival in Mexico City, del Valle discovered that President Wilson had dispatched another "confidential agent" to the Mexican capital in the person of William Bayard Hale. A former Episcopalian clergyman turned journalist, Hale had authored Wilson's campaign



biography and was closely associated with the President. Unlike del Valle, Hale was completely unfamiliar with the Mexican situation, having had no previous contact with that country and possessing no special acquaintance with Hispanic America. He derived his knowledge of Mexican affairs entirely from briefings by Wilson and Bryan.<sup>14</sup> Hale had the confidence of the President and Secretary of State, a factor which they considered far more important than a knowledge of the country. Wilson and Bryan suspected anyone familiar with Mexican problems of being "prejudiced" and considered a complete lack of knowledge of the Mexican context an advantage. Hale came to Mexico believing firmly in the President's policy of opposing Huerta, and fully convinced that Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson was unsatisfactory. The agent did not seek to assess the situation impartially. He commenced reporting immediately after his arrival, indicating that he failed to conduct an investigation before formulating his recommendations. Hale had come to Mexico to provide Wilson with the type of advice he desired, and the envoy viewed the situation entirely within the context of the President's idealistic objectives. This agent's mission was to indict the Huerta regime, and he sought only evidence that comported with the President's objectives. Those who had grievances against the ambassador and the Huerta regime flocked around Hale, whose reports were based exclusively on their accounts.<sup>15</sup>

Del Valle experienced considerable difficulty with the Mexico City press. Mexican newspapers reported his arrival in the capital, and the special envoy foolishly submitted to interviews. The resulting publicity destroyed the secrecy of his mission. While the emissary did deny that he came to Mexico in any official capacity, he admitted that he was commissioned by the President to gather information about conditions in that country. Mexican newspapers described del Valle as the future United States ambassador in their capital.<sup>16</sup> This publicity enraged Bryan and President Wilson, who had endeavored to conduct their reconnaissance confidentially. Bryan had even arranged for del Valle to forward his reports indirectly. The special agent sent his telegrams to the residence of Ben G. Davis, chief clerk of the State Department, to provide cover for his visit. Bryan angrily telegraphed that he had "learned of" del Valle's arrival in Mexico City from press reports. Directing the special envoy to "avoid newspapers" and to "take care

not to permit yourself to be considered an official," the Secretary cautioned: "The success of your mission depends on this."<sup>17</sup>

Some publicity was inevitable, however, for obviously del Valle found it necessary to identify himself to those he interviewed. Government officials and revolutionary leaders certainly would not receive an ordinary tourist. The publicity may have represented the desire of Mexican officials to focus attention on his mission, either to frustrate his efforts or to advise the populace of his presence. The special agent telegraphed the State Department that he had "emphatically assured" all those he interviewed that he acted "in private capacity," and that his sojourn in Mexico was entirely unofficial." He contended that press references to his official capacity represented mere speculation on the part of Mexican papers and noted that it would be impossible to prevent such conjecture. Del Valle reported that he was even refraining from transmitting reports for fear that they would be intercepted.<sup>18</sup>

Ambassador Wilson was thoroughly aggravated by the arrival of Hale and del Valle in Mexico City. He informed Bryan that "the presence here in Mexico of persons claiming to be representatives of the president are lowering the dignity of the embassy and detracting from the respect and deference with which the Mexican people have been taught to regard it." The ambassador described del Valle as "a man of kindly disposition and good intentions," but criticized his indiscretion. Ambassador Wilson added that public opinion in the capital was "much exercised" over "the reported mission" of del Valle to northern Mexico, and hence that the government regarded him "with suspicion." Yet this description was mild in comparison to Wilson's condemnation of Hale, whom he denounced as pro-rebel and biased.<sup>19</sup>

Del Valle continued gathering information, and also caucused with Hale, but these activities produced a growing controversy that enveloped him. Seeking a broad view of the Mexican situation, del Valle conferred with numerous influential citizens in Mexico City, and also interviewed government officials. He met Foreign Minister Francisco de la Barra, and requested an interview with President Huerta.<sup>20</sup> His conferences with government officials were inevitably reported by the capital press. Yet an impartial assessment certainly required an evaluation of the personnel of the regime. Hale had avoided members of the government since he was interested only in gathering testimony dam-



aging to Huerta. Consequently Hale received less initial publicity. Comparing impressions, the two special agents discovered that their views differed considerably. This merely reflected their contrasting objectives: del Valle was endeavoring to prepare an impartial evaluation, and hence solicited information from all sides, while the other agent was seeking only evidence to indict the government. Hale was distressed by the Californian's views. Concluding that del Valle's recommendations conflicted with Wilson's objectives in Mexico, Hale telegraphed Bryan: "I fear he cannot be taken seriously as a reporter."<sup>21</sup>

Thus del Valle found himself in a crossfire, and his position became increasingly untenable. The ambassador resented the presence of both agents in Mexico, and reported unfavorably on their endeavors. The Mexican press publicized del Valle's activities thereby hampering his operations. Hale, discovering that del Valle did not agree with his own assessments, sought to undermine the administration's confidence in a potential competitor. Del Valle's determination to impartially assess the situation rendered him vulnerable to this type of criticism, and Hale had little difficulty in portraying del Valle unfavorably. Reports of his sessions with government officials, particularly with Huerta, caused Bryan and Wilson to become suspicious. Consequently it was easy for Hale to diminish the influence of the second agent, thereby enhancing his own importance.

These factors produced del Valle's abrupt recall. Wilson and Bryan were incensed at the publicity he engendered, and were alarmed by his contacts with Huerta. They had complete confidence in Hale, and attached greater significance to his reports, especially since these comported with administration objectives in Mexico. Accordingly, Bryan telegraphed del Valle on July 15 to return to Washington "at once," cutting his mission short. The Secretary informed the special envoy that the President desired him to "report personally on the situation," and accordingly directed del Valle to cancel his projected tour of the central valley of Mexico. Del Valle sailed from Veracruz immediately.<sup>22</sup>

Upon his return to Washington, del Valle dictated a detailed account of his mission, assessing all facets of the Mexican situation. His report constituted a balanced evaluation of Mexican conditions and politics, indicating meticulous investigation and use of sources broadly representing the Mexican political spectrum. He had conferred with the

leaders of the principal Mexican factions, and visited territory controlled by both the government and the revolutionaries.

Del Valle painted a stark picture of conditions in the rebel held sector. Speaking of the state of Sonora he observed:

All railroads in the state were inactive . . . . All banks were closed, mines and industrial businesses had shut down, commercial houses were mostly closed, agriculture paralyzed, and business pursuits in all directions discontinued. The resources of the state were dwindling away. To maintain the army, forced loans were required of those who had any money, cattle were taken from individuals and sold and the property of absentees administered by public administrators.

His reports from other states indicated similar conditions throughout the territory dominated by the rebels. He concluded that the Carrancista forces in northern Mexico were "pursuing neither the justification of ideal nor for [*sic*] any honest motives." The agent considered the revolutionary leaders "dangerous." Observing that the vast majority of the individuals in the rebel army could not explain why they had taken up arms against the government, the envoy implied that they were merely seeking plunder. He also referred to the widespread disruption of communication and business that resulted from rebel raids into federally controlled districts. Noting that many of the rebel forces consisted of small bands which operated beyond the control of the revolutionary chiefs, the special agent indicated that he considered these groups "very dangerous by reason of their ferocity" and because of their "participation in unbelievable outrages." Del Valle concluded that these bands were "without legitimate aims" and under "doubtful leadership."<sup>23</sup>

Del Valle clearly regarded the rebels as the principle source of the disorder rampant in Mexico, and warned that supporting them would result in widespread terror and destruction. He was obviously horrified by the methods employed and felt certain that rebel leaders sought only personal aggrandizement. More importantly, del Valle noted that regardless of the motives of the revolutionary chiefs, their movement was providing opportunity for other groups to engage in brigandage, even though they had no direct connection with the Carrancista movement. The emissary concluded that these small forces of adventurers constituted the major problem. Del Valle thus specifically differentiated be-



tween the organized Constitutionalist forces and the roving bands, although viewing both critically. He perceived that supporting the Carrancistas would only increase the opportunity for local bandits to spread havoc.

Providing an equally candid assessment of federal activities, del Valle stressed the increasing militarization of the government. The special agent noted that the installation of military governors in virtually all states precluded impartial elections, and hence indicated that Huerta was entrenching himself in power. He cited the dispatch of politically prominent men on missions abroad as another indication that the general intended to retain power. Yet the envoy was not opposed to Huerta's objectives. Noting the widespread illiteracy in the country, del Valle concluded that the people of Mexico were not adequately prepared for self government. The emissary blamed the deterioration of conditions in Mexico on "the personal ambitions" of all its political leaders, and noted the prevailing opinion that only a man of executive ability who possessed the strength to rule with an iron hand could control the nation.

The special agent was convinced that compromise between the contending factions was impossible, since each demanded total power. In addition to citing the tendency toward *personalismo*, he noted that the objectives of both parties were confined to the desire for personal power, and that the dispute was devoid of substantive issues or ideological goals. In view of the parity of military strength, del Valle feared that conditions in Mexico would deteriorate steadily, and perceived no prospect of immediate improvement.<sup>24</sup>

Del Valle did not offer any recommendation since his mission had been to assess conditions and report his personal observations. Woodrow Wilson refrained from requesting del Valle's advice, as the envoy's views obviously clashed with the President's previous decision to oppose the Huerta regime. The special agent's account indicated that he regarded the rebels as the chief threat to order and that he feared a policy of supporting their aspirations would only lead to further anarchy. Yet the special agent also abhorred the methods of the central government, and hence his attitude towards it was somewhat ambivalent. He implied, however, that only a strong government could control the country. While critical of Huertas' methods, one can perceive that,

if asked to make a recommendation, del Valle would have advocated supporting the government until it could successfully put down the rebels. The agent's criticisms indicate that he favored subsequent pressure to moderate Huerta's military regime after stability was achieved.

It is interesting that del Valle, who visited northern Mexico and interviewed rebel leaders, supported the government, while Hale, who visited only the government held capital, favored the revolutionaries. Del Valle's account was clearly more balanced, and indicated a familiarity with the background of Mexican events, as well as a knowledge of the activities of both sides. Hale's views merely reflected his prior prejudices.

President Wilson's objectives altered after he dispatched del Valle to Mexico and this terminated the envoy's usefulness. The special agent was instructed to examine the situation impartially. On his return to Washington, the emissary found that Wilson and Bryan no longer desired an impartial evaluation. The President and Secretary had already decided to oppose Huerta on ideological grounds. Perhaps Wilson and Bryan hoped that del Valle would provide evidence indicting the Huerta regime and justifying the policy they favored. When his reports indicated that he would oppose this decision, they disregarded his views, and dispatched another agent for the purpose of furnishing only the type of information they desired.

Del Valle, consequently, found himself in an untenable position. He occupied the center stage only during his sojourn in northern Mexico. From the moment of his arrival in the Mexican capital he was relegated to a subsidiary role by the presence of Hale. Thus del Valle's effort failed to affect American policy. His balanced assessment was disregarded by the Wilson administration, which pursued the course it had previously selected.

#### NOTES

1. Arthur S. Link, *Wilson the Diplomatist* (Baltimore, 1957), 24-6; and Diary of Colonel Edward M. House, November 22, 1915, for House's observations of Wilson's attitude, Papers of Colonel Edward M. House, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University. The President's attitude toward the ambassador was obvious in exchanges with Bryan, which are scattered throughout the



pertinent State Department file during March, April, and May, 1913, see United States State Department Papers, National Archives, Record Group 59, 812.00 *passim*. Hereinafter papers from the 812.00 file will be cited by slash number only.

2. Henry Lane Wilson, *Diplomatic Episodes in Mexico, Belgium, and Chile* (Garden City, N.Y., 1927), 303, and Woodrow Wilson to Bryan, April 23, 1913/7241.

3. Wilson to Bryan, April 23, 1913/7241; Wilson, *Diplomatic Episodes*, 303; and Memorandum by Fred Morris Dearing (Assistant Chief of the Latin American Division, United States State Department), May 12, 1913/12767. In March, 1913, the New York *World* launched a virtual crusade against the ambassador, charging him with numerous indiscretions and with aiding the Huerta coup. These articles were written by the *World* correspondent in Mexico, Robert H. Murray, a personal enemy of the ambassador. Like the ambassador, O'Shaughnessy also came from a prominent Republican family.

4. William H. Sawtelle to Bryan, undated, apparently May, 1913, Papers of Woodrow Wilson, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, File II; Harley Notter, *The Origins of the Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson* (Baltimore, 1937), 248; and Diary of Josephus Daniels, April 18, 1913, Papers of Josephus Daniels, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

5. Descriptive and background information on del Valle from New York *Times*, July 19, 1913, 2:2, and July 27, II, 2:3-4; and *El Imparcial* (Mexico City), July 7, 1:1, and 3:4.

6. Bryan to del Valle, May 31, 1913/20446.

7. Del Valle signed receipts for the money and the code book on May 31, 1913/20446; while Bryan's letter bears the same date and number.

8. Del Valle to Ben G. Davis (chief clerk of the State Department), June 8, 1913/23641, and June 9/23642.

9. Del Valle to Davis, June 9, 1913/23642, and June 12/23643.

10. Del Valle to Davis, June 17, 1913/23644.

11. Del Valle to Davis, June 17, 1913/23644, June 23/23646, and June 27/23648; and Luther Ellsworth (Consul in Ciudad Porfirio Díaz) to Bryan, June 23, 1913, Post Records, Piedras Negras (present name of Ciudad Porfirio Díaz), Cl. 800, XXV, United States State Department Papers, National Archives, Record Group 84. Hereinafter papers from the post records are cited as PR and the city.

12. Bryan to Wilson, June 25, 1913, Correspondence of Secretary of State Bryan with President Wilson, 1913-15, National Archives, I, 79.

13. Bryan to Wilson, June 25, 1913, Bryan-Wilson Correspondence, I, 79; Wilson to Bryan, June 27/23649; and Bryan to American Legation in Cuba, June 28/23649a, instructing the legation officials to hand the dispatch to del Valle

when his ship stopped in Havana en route to Veracruz (the dispatch was sent over the signature of Davis, but was written by Bryan).

14. Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era: 1910-1917* (New York, 1954), 112.

15. For reports that Hale met exclusively with antigovernment leaders and dissatisfied individuals, see Boaz Long (Chief of the State Department Latin American Division), Memorandum, August 22, 1913/17669, and Wilson, *Diplomatic Episodes*, 306-7; for Hale's preconceived views, see his initial dispatch, Hale to Davis, June 3, 1913/23616, as well as the succeeding reports he sent during the month of June, also in the 812.00 file.

16. *El País* (Mexico City), June 11, 1913, 1:6-7, and *El Diario* (Mexico City), July 7, enclosed in H. L. Wilson to Bryan, July 15, PR Mexico City, Cl. 800, XXIII; Wilson to Bryan, July 8/7990; and del Valle to Davis, July 6/23651.

17. Davis (for Bryan) to del Valle, July 8, 1913/23650a.

18. Del Valle to Davis, July 16, 1913/23651.

19. Wilson to Bryan, July 8, 1913/7990; and Wilson to Bryan, June 29, PR Mexico City, Cl. 800, XXIII. The ambassador sent numerous reports criticizing Hale in June and July, 1913, all in the 812.00 file.

20. For reports of the interviews, *El País*, July 10, 1913, 1:6.

21. Hale to Davis, July 9, 1913/8203.

22. Davis to del Valle, July 15, 1913/23650b, and del Valle to Davis, July 16/23652.

23. Del Valle to Bryan, July, 1913 (no day), Wilson Papers, File II.

24. *Ibid.*



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# California Progressives and Foreign Policy

By THOMAS G. PATERSON

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IN 1952 PROFESSOR WILLIAM LEUCHTENBURG noted a major failing of American historians. "No distinction is more revered by the American historian than that between domestic and foreign affairs and in few periods of our history has that distinction been more religiously observed than in the Progressive era."<sup>1</sup> His pioneer article sought to combine the divorced fields. He argued that the Progressives supported an aggressive and expansionistic foreign policy. Since the publication of this provocative study, several historians have dissected, amended, and corrected Leuchtenburg's generalizations by investigating the voting records and foreign policy ideas of individual progressives.<sup>2</sup> As yet there is no published full-length work on the subject, and existing scholarship is fragmentary and scattered.

The California progressives provide a useful case study for the problem of the relationship between domestic and foreign affairs. As George Mowry discovered in his research for *The California Progressives*, the reformers of the Golden State "were both highly literate and aware of history."<sup>3</sup> Many were vocal journalists. Besides this obvious advantage of accessible source materials, there is the important and well-documented California progressive crusade against "special interest"—usually the Southern Pacific Railroad. As progressive Governor and Senator Hiram Johnson argued, the Progressive Party "shuts the door against special privilege and drives from government those who have selfishly exploited and profited from government in the past."<sup>4</sup> Progressives assumed the task of fighting what the progressive journal *California Weekly* called "lawless millionaires" and "predatory wealth."<sup>5</sup> This crusading zeal to achieve "the betterment of the men and women and

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the children of the nation, and . . . impartial and absolute social and economic justice,' permeated the progressive era and was not limited to domestic affairs.<sup>6</sup> As we shall note, the reform impulse was to a great extent translated into certain foreign policy ideas.

The result of this interaction between domestic and foreign policy defies a monolithic interpretation. Contrary to Leuchtenburg's thesis, this paper argues that there was no unified progressive attitude toward foreign policy, and that, indeed, California progressives were decidedly split on questions of foreign relations. They were almost unanimous, however, in their criticism of the role of American business in foreign affairs and their distaste for war, and they consistently employed progressive rhetoric to state their case. Both the progressive advocates and progressive critics of American foreign policy in the first two decades of the twentieth century found in the malleable progressive idiom the necessary arguments to justify their opposing stances. American-Mexican relations during the Mexican Revolution and the preparedness controversy before American entry into the First World War illustrate well the interrelationship of domestic reform and international affairs.

The Mexican Revolution, which began its long and troubled course in 1910 with the overthrow of dictator Porfirio Díaz, continued for several years to be a spirited issue in California. The proximity and duration of the Revolution alarmed Californians. Imperial Valley residents feared the loss of their water supply, the route for which passed through Mexico, and other Californians asked if the raids of Pancho Villa and his motley army would reach them. The Mexican issue was aggravated when President Woodrow Wilson mobilized the California National Guard in July, 1916.

The course of the Mexican Revolution was bumpy and bloody, and American policy toward it was both wavering and meddlesome. President Taft sympathized with the faltering Díaz regime and even attempted to shore it up in 1909 by meeting the Mexican dictator on the Texas border in a public ceremony. It is not surprising, then, that the Revolution would be somewhat anti-American, and would focus many attacks on American property, amounting to some two billion dollars in 1910.<sup>7</sup> Americans who had friends, relatives, or property in Mexico clamored for intervention. Senator Robert LaFollette labelled these



interventionists "powerful interests ready to coin the lives of our soldiers into the fortunes they have at stake in their Mexican concessions."<sup>8</sup> This kind of rhetoric and position was similar to that of many California progressives, as we shall see. Taft, either patient or unsure, did not intervene in the Revolution. President Wilson, however, a zealot for what Professor Arthur S. Link has aptly called "missionary diplomacy," intervened twice militarily and often diplomatically on behalf of stable and constitutional government. As he put it: "I will not recognize a government of butchers."<sup>9</sup> Wilson's rantings against Victoriano Huerta, his policy of "watchful waiting," the invasion of Veracruz, and General John J. Pershing's chase after Villa were parts of a diplomacy whose objectives were seemingly noble (uplift of Mexican peasants), but whose tactics and conduct were ill-conceived and detrimental. California progressives exhibited both the strengths and weaknesses of the Mexican policies of the United States.

The *California Weekly* in 1909 nonchalantly endorsed the re-election campaign of President Díaz, pointing out that he was the only man capable of maintaining an orderly government. But it noted that Mexico was not a republic, and claimed that the Standard Oil Company, under Díaz' auspices, had secured a privileged position in Mexico. The *Weekly* appealed to British competitors to challenge Standard Oil, in order to "see a tentacle or two of the octopus uncoiled from somebody's neck."<sup>10</sup> Chester Rowell, a steady reformer, also acknowledged Díaz' role in stabilizing Mexico.<sup>11</sup> Mexican stability and order seemed to be of prime importance for the *Weekly* and Rowell before the blossoming of the Revolution.

By 1911 the *California Outlook* had altered the position taken by its predecessor, the *Weekly*. The *Outlook* compared Francisco Madero's battle against Díaz with the Republican insurgents' fight against conservatism. Both the revolutionary Madero and the insurgents were crusading against control of the government by large corporations and political standpatters. The *Outlook* blasted J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, and Nelson Aldrich for their support of Díaz and for insisting on "order at all hazards" in Mexico.<sup>12</sup> It staunchly opposed any intervention on behalf of "our big financiers" who go to Mexico and "suck the opportunity like an orange and go back up North to spend the proceeds without leaving behind anything more important than the

dried and shriveled peel.”<sup>13</sup> In 1912 Progressive Congressman William Kent and the *Sacramento Bee* also argued against intervention by the United States to protect American investments in Mexico.<sup>14</sup> Senator John D. Works condemned the “personal interest” of those who would have the United States intervene to “protect a handful of people in Mexico and the property of a very few of them.”<sup>15</sup> And the *San Francisco Bulletin*, under the editorship of Fremont Older, an outspoken progressive and antimilitarist, in 1911 began calling for a policy of non-intervention.<sup>16</sup>

During the years 1913-1914 the temper of some California progressives changed. Senator Works and Chester Rowell became critical of President Wilson’s handling of the Mexican problem, called for the protection of American lives and property, but were hesitant to suggest how it should be done.<sup>17</sup> The *Outlook* now found “good order” and “fair government” imperative for Mexico.<sup>18</sup> Senator James D. Phelan, former Democratic reform mayor of San Francisco, went so far as to champion an invasion of Mexico “to include its [California’s] natural boundaries to the South.”<sup>19</sup>

Hiram Johnson, it seems, at first opposed intervention in Mexico.<sup>20</sup> But during the Mexican crisis he was the recipient of letters from Californians asking for the deployment of American troops along the border to ward off Mexican bandits.<sup>21</sup> These requests, Johnson’s impulsive and aggressive character, and his sensitivity about national honor, persuaded him that the atrocities of the Mexican Revolution must be ended.<sup>22</sup> C. K. McClatchy, editor of the *Sacramento Bee*, tried to dissuade him from an interventionist position, but neither man was certain which policy course to follow.<sup>23</sup>

Other progressives after 1914 shared the irritation of Johnson and Works. The *Oakland Enquirer*’s editor strongly urged intervention to end “the shame of the Western Hemisphere.”<sup>24</sup> And American entry would allow the Red Cross to aid a distressed people.<sup>25</sup>

Meyer Lissner called for American intervention for the “welfare of humanity.”<sup>26</sup> The latter argument was a common one for California progressives desiring American entry into the Mexican conflict. “Amid all our turmoil of politics . . .,” wrote Chester Rowell in 1913 about the progressive movement, “let us not forget that the battle has but one object, the betterment of humanity . . . .”<sup>27</sup> This idea of mission—the



appetite to rectify the evil of the world through American institutions—was expressed by Senator Works when he stated that the “claims of humanity” might force the United States to enter the Mexican Revolution.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, moved by the bloodshed of the Revolution, Works in January of 1916 introduced a Senate resolution authorizing the President to intervene in Mexico for the “protection of the lives, the liberty, the independence, and the property of its people.”<sup>29</sup> Some progressives, then, were simply moved by traditional American missionary foreign policy which jibed neatly with the humanitarian strain in progressivism.

But some California progressives, by opposing intervention, revealed another strain in progressivism—opposition to what Professor Richard Abrams has called the “corporate reform movement” or the large-scale corporate reorganization of American business.<sup>30</sup> Congressman Kent voted against a resolution supporting Wilson’s military expedition to Veracruz in 1914, and blasted American “plutocrats” and “grafters” who exploited Mexico.<sup>31</sup> Kent, in fact, believed that the humanitarian contention for intervention was an ideological cloak for deceitful business designs.<sup>32</sup> Also employing the progressive rhetoric, McClatchy of the *Sacramento Bee* asked for the quick withdrawal of American troops from Veracruz, and wrote that only “exploiters and the Hearsts are shrieking for Mexican blood. . . .”<sup>33</sup> In the same spirit, the *Stockton Record* blamed “Land speculators like Hearst” for the chaos of the Revolution.<sup>34</sup> The San Francisco *Bulletin* of Fremont Older was the most vociferous progressive organ opposed to intervention. Any war with Mexico, contended the *Bulletin*, would benefit only a few worried investors. And of William Randolph Hearst: “How many lives would he wish to destroy in order to regain his ranch?”<sup>35</sup> The *Bulletin*, as in other questions of foreign policy, consistently invoked the idea of a conspiracy on the part of American business.<sup>36</sup>

Lincoln Steffens, who visited Mexico during the early years of the Revolution, and who was sympathetic with its social and economic reforms, was a dedicated advocate of a hands-off policy on the part of the United States. He berated “narrow, sordid, selfish” Americans for their interventionist arguments. Fearing that American and British oil interests would thwart the Revolution, Steffens even charged that Wall Street was organizing invading bands of Mexicans to force Wilson into war. In the summer of 1916 he lived in Washington, and apparently was

the author of the idea for an American-Mexican Commission.<sup>37</sup> President Wilson adopted the commission plan and appointed a California progressive as chairman, Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior. Although publicly supporting Wilson's "watchful waiting," Lane privately urged a declaration of war against Mexico. Ironically, Lane's role was one of peacemaker in the Mexican-American Commission.<sup>38</sup>

A review of the responses of California progressives to the foreign relations of the Mexican Revolution reveals the influence of domestic reform. The few progressives who championed intervention, except Lane, reflected the humanitarian impulse of progressivism. Those who opposed any American interference couched their views in progressive jargon as well: intervention was a position taken by "big business" to protect its property in Mexico. This split among the progressives was transcended, paradoxically at times, only by their almost unanimous detestation for anarchy and war.

The events of World War I, and particularly the preparedness movement these events fostered in the United States, contributed to a heated debate among California progressives. The San Francisco *Bulletin* and Senator Works were the most outspoken critics of preparedness and the trade in war goods. The *Bulletin* in 1916 despondently remarked that the preparedness movement "will cause an indefinite postponement of 'social justice.'"<sup>39</sup> Vociferously resisting the intrusion of the war into domestic reform, Older lashed out at the Navy League of the United States and J. P. Morgan and Company.<sup>40</sup> He condemned munitions manufacturers, militarists, and the "international war ring." "We ought not to pray for peace and brag about our neutrality on Sunday, and make shrapnel and cannon on all the other days of the week."<sup>41</sup>

Fremont Older was a leading propagandist for an antipreparedness rally in San Francisco, July 20, 1916. The President of the First National Bank and a prominent progressive, Rudolph Spreckels, was one of the principal speakers at the meeting. Spreckels, a renegade businessman and supreme individualist, levelled his attack upon "organized greed" and "the public service corporations, who have grafted upon and debauched our community . . ."<sup>42</sup>

In the 1914-1917 period Senator Works assailed the trend toward military preparedness. Who supported preparedness? The "German-Jewish money oligarchy" and the "World Wide War Trust."<sup>43</sup> "It is the



influence of plutocracy, wealth, big business that already wields such immense and such a selfish control over the destinies of this country."<sup>44</sup> For his stand against preparedness, war loans, and war trade, Works was denounced by hundreds of hostile and vituperative letters, and he clashed head-on with other California progressives, thus widening already existing schisms in the progressive movement.<sup>45</sup>

Lincoln Steffens also spoke against military preparedness. He too, resented the intrusion of the war into domestic reform. In July, 1916, he told a Conference on Real Preparedness that child labor laws and the demonopolization of natural resources were a better preparedness than military might.<sup>46</sup> The *Stockton Record* argued in a similar vein: "FULL STOMACHS ARE A BETTER NATIONAL DEFENSE THAN FULL ARSENALS."<sup>47</sup> The *Record* demanded government ownership of gunpowder plants, in order to deprive the "Dupont powder trust" of war profits.<sup>48</sup>

When Hiram Johnson took his Senate seat in March, 1917, the United States was courting a declaration of war. Johnson had earlier stated his opposition to preparedness and the trend toward a war posture, but he remained silent during his first week in Washington, in keeping with his freshman status.<sup>49</sup> He warned in 1916 that preparedness would undo progressive accomplishments, and in April, 1917, he noted that "To suggest a social program . . . would simply afford an opportunity to those who believe in none to boll you over."<sup>50</sup> Like Older, Steffens, and the *Stockton Record*, Johnson argued for moral, psychic, and social preparedness. He too deplored the detrimental effect of the war on reform achievements and future efforts.

Although Congressman Kent abhorred war and imperialism, he voted to increase American naval power before the war, and persuaded by security needs, he later advocated "defensive" preparedness. Kent held that all munitions plants should be government-controlled to the "end that profits may not be coined out of murder and misery."<sup>51</sup>

Chester Rowell's *Fresno Republican* and the *Oakland Enquirer*, on the other hand, were ardent supporters of military preparedness.<sup>52</sup> Other progressives endorsed Wilson's shift to preparedness in 1916, but condemned war profits. As McClatchy put it: "The patriotism of Wall Street in general and the bankers also is largely bunk. Everything they have done for the government has been paid, and repaid, and

repaid over, and over, and over again. . . ."<sup>53</sup> Unlike most progressives in California, however, Franklin K. Lane did not castigate the large wargoods companies for making a profit during the crisis. He noted with chagrin that President Wilson suspected the patriotism of the munitions manufacturers, and concluded that "The President ought to send for Schwab [of Kuhn, Loeb and Company] and hand a treasury warrant for a billion dollars . . . with no government inspections or supervisors or accountants. . . ."<sup>54</sup> Lane's trust in the business community was uncommon among California progressives.

The preparedness issue in the United States divided the California progressives, and contributed to the disruption of national progressivism. Older broke with Theodore Roosevelt in 1914 because of the Colonel's "blustering" and "warlike doctrines."<sup>55</sup> Francis Heney, William Kent, Fremont Older, and the Sacramento *Bee* in the campaign of 1916 endorsed Wilson, in large part because of his foreign policy and endorsement of peace.<sup>56</sup> On the other side of the issue, the *California Outlook* unleashed a bitter attack on Senator LaFollette for his antiwar position, and asked for his resignation.<sup>57</sup>

We must question Professor Leuchtenburg's assertion that the progressives had "a fondness for a 'strong' foreign policy. . . ."<sup>58</sup> On the issues of the Mexican Revolution and preparedness, California progressives were decisively splintered. And this schism was a microcosm of the effect of foreign policy on national progressivism. The intrusion of World War I into progressivism paradoxically both stimulated and curtailed the reform movement. The war offered some progressive reformers new targets to challenge, at the same time that it encouraged the demise of the progressive ethos and the break-up of national progressive leadership.<sup>59</sup> The interplay between foreign policy and domestic politics in the progressive era was rancorous and ultimately pernicious.

Progressive antagonists in foreign policy issues all relied on the progressive idiom for argumentation by emphasizing different strands, and the foreign policy disputes helped disrupt an already loosely organized reform movement. Such a schismatic interaction between foreign policy and domestic policy is not unique in American history. The damaging effect of the War in Vietnam on President John F. Kennedy's "New Frontier" and President Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great



Society" is striking.<sup>60</sup> In the case of both the progressives and the post-New Deal liberals, reformers split over foreign policy questions, foreign events cut into domestic reform sentiment and activity, and all reformers preached a detestation for war. The problem remains open whether the supporters of the Great Society, as Professor Richard Hofstadter has written about some of the progressives, will imbibe that postwar disillusionment which saps a reform effort of its vitality. "The pressure for civic participation was followed by widespread apathy, the sense of responsibility by neglect, the call for sacrifice by hedonism."<sup>61</sup> And will the Great Society reformer, during and after the war, as Professor John Blum has depicted the progressive Theodore Roosevelt, espouse "an intolerantly monistic gospel of Americanism" and interpret "disagreement with his views of foreign and military policy as both timorous and treacherous?"<sup>62</sup>

#### NOTES

1. William E. Leuchtenburg, "Progressivism and Imperialism: The Progressive Movement and American Foreign Policy, 1898-1916," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXIX (December, 1952), 483.

2. Howard W. Allen, "Republican Reformers and Foreign Policy, 1913-1917," *Mid-America*, XLIV (October, 1962), 222-229; Charles Hirschfeld, "Nationalist Progressivism and World War I," *ibid.*, XLV (July, 1963), 139-156; Padriac C. Kennedy, "LaFollette's Foreign Policy," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XLVI (Summer, 1963), 287-293; Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917*, (New York, 1954), 180-181; Robert Seager, "The Progressives and American Foreign Policy, 1898-1917" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 2 vols., Ohio State University, 1956); Walter A. Sutton, "Progressive Republican Senators and the Submarine Crisis, 1915-1916," *Mid-America*, XLVII (April, 1965), 75-88; Walter I. Trattner, "Progressivism and World War I: A Re-appraisal," *ibid.*, XLIV (July, 1962), 131-145. The lower case spelling of "progressive" will be used in this paper, in order to include certain Democrats and Republicans in the progressive movement. This study will not be limited to members of the Progressive Party.

3. George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963; c. 1951), p. 354.

4. Hiram Johnson to Matthew Hale, April 7, 1914, Johnson Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

5. *California Weekly*, I (February 26, 1909), 211.

6. Johnson to Matthew Hale, April 7, 1914, Johnson Papers.

7. George E. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900-1912* (New York, 1958), pp. 276-277.

8. Quoted in Kennedy, p. 290. Stanley R. Ross argues that in 1911, American "interests" opposed American intervention in the Revolution. It is difficult to accept this argument in view of the vociferous and widespread belief among many Americans that interventionist sentiment was centered in the American business community, and in view of Madero's May, 1911, statement that he had rejected a loan offer from some (unidentified) American capitalists. Ross himself fails to develop some suggestive evidence that the Standard Oil Company was negotiating a deal with Madero for financial aid. Elaboration is needed on this question, because Díaz was known to have favored European over American interests and was suspicious of Standard Oil. Madero was also clearly a foe of the British interests. Ross, *Francisco I. Madero* (New York, 1955), pp. 136, 141-142; Fritz L. Hoffmann, "Edward L. Doheny and the Beginnings of Petroleum Development in Mexico," *Mid-America*, XXIV (April, 1942), 94-108; George S. Gibb and Evelyn H. Knowlton, *History of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey): The Resurgent Years, 1911-1927* (New York, 1956), p. 85.

9. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era*, p. 109. For a thorough discussion of Wilson's Mexican policies, see Link's Chapter 5: "Mexico: Interference and Defeat, 1913-1917."

10. I (February 19, 1909), 196; I (April 16, 1909), 324. At this time SO was waging a price war with the British firm of Pearson and Son, which challenged SO's monopoly of the Mexican oil market. The Doheny interests of the United States also battled SO for control of Mexican oil production. SO may or may not have aided Madero (see footnote 8), but in 1914 it sent an agent to Mexico to talk with all factions about oil concessions. By April, 1917, SO had obtained thirty-three leases, and in July, 1918, a SO representative in Mexico called for American intervention to end the political troubles there. SO's prominent position in Mexico was henceforth to be troubled indeed, as Carranza and successor governments confiscated property and claimed subsoil rights. Ralph W. and Muriel E. Hidy, *History of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey): Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911* (New York, 1955), p. 464; Gibb and Knowlton, pp. 84-89; Hoffman, *passim*.

11. Editorial, *Fresno Republican*, May 26, 1910, Rowell Papers, Bancroft Library.

12. *California Outlook*, X (June 3, 1911), 2-3.

13. *Ibid.*, X (May 20, 1911), 2. See also *ibid.*, X (March 18, 1911), 2.

14. *Speeches of William Kent, 1896-1922* (Bancroft Library, n.d.), August 19, 1912, speech in the House of Representatives; *Sacramento Bee*, August 29, 1912.

15. Works to E. J. Kimball, June 7, 1912, Works Papers, Bancroft Library. Works became estranged from some other California progressives when he refused to leave the Republican Party for the Progressive Party.



16. May 19, 1911.
17. Works to William J. Bryan, December 27, 1913, Works Papers; Rowell to F. C. Woodward, March 17, 1914; Rowell to Frank Caine, May 30, 1914, Rowell Papers. Senator Works, however, voted against a resolution supporting intervention at Veracruz, but the resolution passed 72-13. *Congressional Record*, LI, 63rd Cong., 2nd sess. (April 21, 1914), 7014.
18. XV (August 16, 1913), 4.
19. In the 1914 campaign, Phelan toned down his views and praised Wilson's foreign policy. Robert E. Hennings, "James D. Phelan and the Wilson Progressives of California" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1961), p. 190.
20. Mowry, *California Progressives*, p. 223. Mowry writes that Johnson gave his blessing to the anti-interventionist argument of Older, Kent, and Rowell. Mowry is unclear on the date of Johnson's position, but it is clear that Johnson moved closer and closer to an interventionist stand. Mowry is wrong about Rowell, who was an interventionist.
21. See, for example, United Mines Company to Johnson, April 24, 1914, Johnson Papers.
22. Johnson to Fremont Older, March 24, 1915, Johnson Papers.
23. McClatchy to Johnson, April 2, 1915, April 5, 1915, and January 26, 1916, Johnson Papers.
24. August 13, 1915.
25. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1915.
26. "Our New Mexican Policy," *California Outlook*, XVIII (June 12, 1915), 5.
27. In the *California Outlook*, XIV (February 15, 1913).
28. Works to H. T. Miller, August 13, 1915, Works Papers.
29. *Congressional Record*, LIII, 64th Cong., 1st sess. (January 14, 1916), 1060, 1063.
30. In "The Failure of Progressivism," paper delivered at the 59th Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April 28, 1966.
31. Elizabeth Kent, *William Kent, Independent—A Biography* (Kentfield, Calif., 1950), pp. 258-259; *Speeches of William Kent*, April 27, 1914, speech in House of Representatives.
32. *Congressional Record*, LII, 63rd Cong., 3rd sess. (February 5, 1915), 3126; Seager, II, 231.
33. April 20, 22, 1914.
34. May 2, 1914; May 27, 1915; August 9, 1915; August 13, 1915.
35. *San Francisco Bulletin*, July 25, 1916.
36. February 6, 1915; November 3, 1915. The *Bulletin* opposed Taft's Dollar Diplomacy (August 19, 1912), American entry into Caribbean countries (May

26, 1915, September 14, 1915), and as we shall see, preparedness and war loans. In all cases this newspaper wrote of plots on the part of American businessmen to gain profit.

37. Granville Hicks and Ella Winter, eds., *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens* (2 vols., New York, 1938), I, 275, 351, 361, 386.

38. Anne W. Lane and Louise H. Wall, eds., *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane* (Boston, 1922), pp. 225-226; Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era* (2 vols., Chapel Hill, 1944), I, 184; Seager, II, 247; Lane to Governor Cox (Ohio), (n.d.), Lane Papers, Bancroft Library; Franklin K. Lane, *The American Spirit: Addresses in War-Time* (New York, 1918), p. 25; "The President's Mexican Policy," Lane Papers. Lane was an economic expansionist, an ardent nationalist, and a willing channel of communication for businessmen during the Wilson Administration. In the early twenties he was a leader of the Americanization movement. [Jack Muraskin, "The Political Career of Franklin K. Lane, 1913-1920" (Unpublished History Seminar Paper, University of California, Berkeley, 1964), pp. 47, 52.] The Commission that Lane chaired met from September 6, 1916, through January 15, 1917. Mexico demanded that Pershing and his troops be withdrawn, and the United States wanted assurances that American property would be protected in northern Mexico. The Commission broke up when the United States refused to evacuate the troops until an agreement could be reached. Although the meeting came to naught, its very existence helped preserve the peace.

39. July 21, 1916. Woodrow Wilson apparently thought similarly: "Every reform we have won will be lost if we go into this war. We have been making a fight on special privilege. . . . War means autocracy. The people we have unhorsed will inevitably come into the control of the country for we shall be dependent upon the steel, oil, and financial magnates." Quoted in Ray S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters* (8 vols., Garden City, N. Y., 1937), VI, 506n.

40. April 15, 1915; April 29, 1915.

41. *San Francisco Bulletin*, September 29, 1915, April 15, 1915. Quote is from January 21, 1915.

42. Quoted in Richard H. Frost, "The Mooney Case" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2 vols., 1960), I, 195. Spreckels and Older were blamed by many critics for inciting the bombing of a San Francisco preparedness parade, July 22, 1916. The bombing killed ten people, and brought on the controversial Mooney case.

43. Works to D. M. Utter, March 12, 1915; Works to S. M. Davis, March 6, 1916, Works Papers.

44. John D. Works, *Speeches, 1911-1917* (Bancroft Library, n.d.), Senate speech of March 23, 1916.

45. Unfortunately most of these letters were destroyed by Works because they were bitter and inflammatory. The Bancroft Library collection, however, contains many letters applauding Works' position. A large number of the latter were sent by German-Americans.



46. Seager, II, 314; Steffens to James Hollister, July 1, 1916, in Hicks and Winter, I, 374-375.

47. August 25, 1915.

48. May 20, 24, 1915.

49. Johnson to Meyer Lissner, April 9, 1917, Johnson Papers; Mowry, *California Progressives*, pp. 243-244.

50. Johnson to Chester Rowell, April 10, 1917, Johnson Papers.

51. Quoted in Trattner, pp. 135-136. See also Seager, I, 129; William Kent, "Europe and American Defense," *Harper's Weekly*, LX (May 22, 1915), 484-485; *Congressional Record*, LII, 63rd Cong., 3rd sess. (February 5, 1915), 3126; *ibid.*, 64th Cong., 1st sess. (December 6, 1915), 31. The Los Angeles *Express* of E. T. Earl sounded very much like Kent when it called for "reasonable" preparedness. This progressive paper, however, vociferously opposed the munitions trade and war loans. See Richard B. Rice, "The California Press and American Neutrality, 1914 to 1917" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1957), pp. 41, 214, 217.

52. Editorial, *Fresno Republican*, April 3, 1917, Rowell Papers; Rice, pp. 194, 217; *Oakland Enquirer*, July 28, 31, 1915, August 12, 1915.

53. Quoted in Mowry, *California Progressives*, p. 289. Congressman William Stephens, C. K. McClatchy, and Senator James Phelan supported preparedness, but disliked the resultant profits derived by large corporations. *Congressional Record*, LII, 63rd Cong., 3rd sess. (January 29, 1915), 2666; William Stephens, *California in the War* (War History Department of the California Historical Survey Commission, n.d.), pp. 11, 26; *Sacramento Bee*, November 7, 1916; Rice, pp. 38, 210n.; Freda K. Walker, "James D. Phelan: Democratic Senator from California, 1915-1921" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1947), pp. 49-51; Hennings, pp. 223, 256; James D. Phelan, *Addresses . . . in regard to America and the European War* (Washington, 1917-1918), p. 2; Phelan, *Speeches, 1916-1920* (Bancroft Library, n.d.), speech of August 14-15, 1917.

54. Lane to George W. Lane, February 25, 1917, in Lane and Wall, p. 240.

55. Quoted in Rice, p. 217. On August 2, 1915, the *Bulletin* asked: "Where is the Roosevelt who advanced himself as the leader of a great constructive reform movement?"

56. Evelyn Wells, *Fremont Older* (New York, 1936), p. 291; Rice, p. 244; Meyer Lissner to Hiram Johnson, July 3, 1916, Johnson Papers.

57. XXI (December, 1917), 201.

58. Leuchtenburg, p. 484. The authors listed in footnote 2 also have ably questioned Leuchtenburg on this generalization. It should be mentioned, too, that he makes no distinction between imperialism, war, and military preparedness, but rather lumps them together. The attitudes and activities of California progressives on other issues also limits Leuchtenburg's argument. Those California progressives commenting on dollar diplomacy in China were generally criti-

cal, and many approved of Wilson's decision in March, 1913, to end American participation in the financial consortium. See, for example, *California Weekly*, II (January 14, 1910), 113; *San Francisco Bulletin*, August 19, 1912; *Sacramento Bee*, March 25, 1913. American policy in Latin America in the progressive period also fostered disagreement among California progressives. See the noninterventionist *Bulletin*, September 14, 1915, and the interventionist *California Outlook*, XV (August 16, 1913). Nor were they united on the issues of American trade with and American loans to the World War I belligerents. Senator Works, the *Bulletin*, and E. T. Earl's *Los Angeles Express* opposed trade in war goods, whereas the *Oakland Enquirer* and Rowell's *Fresno Republican* supported such activity. See *Congressional Record* LII, 63rd Cong., 3rd sess. (December 10, 1914), 81; *Bulletin*, January 21, 1915; Rice, pp. 14, 17, 41; *Oakland Enquirer*, July 5, 1915.

59. There is some evidence to suggest that California progressives hoped for continued reform, but were frustrated by the coming of the war and the dominant attention given to it. (See Hiram Johnson to Chester Rowell, April 10, 1917, Johnson Papers). Whereas the war diverted attention away from some domestic issues, it brought notice to others, such as prohibition, women's rights, public health, and prostitution. See John Chamberlain, *Farewell to Reform* (Chicago, 1932), p. 260; Allen F. Davis, "Welfare, Reform and World War I," *American Quarterly*, XIX (Fall, 1967), 517-533; Arthur S. Link, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's?" *American Historical Review*, LXIV (July, 1959), 838; Seward W. Livermore, *Politics is Adjourned: Woodrow Wilson and the War Congress, 1916-1918*. (Middletown, Conn., 1966), pp. 181-184; James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 80, 164, 174, 178, 179-181. The attempt by Wilson to extend the progressive crusade to the world during the war, however, meant that in the subsequent disillusionment with crass world politics progressivism was repudiated and died, although some progressives continued their political careers lacking the mood and ethos of the progressive movement. Compare Richard Hofstadter, *Age of Reform* (New York, 1959), Chapter VII, and Arthur S. Link, *American Epoch* (2nd ed.; New York, 1965), Chapter 17.

60. For a brief discussion of the damaging effect upon the reform program of the Great Society by the Vietnamese war see Professor Robert Lekachman's "Death of a Slogan—The Great Society 1967," *Commentary*, 43 (January, 1967), 56-61.

61. Hofstadter, p. 280.

62. John M. Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (New York, 1962), p. 154. For the wartime hysteria and the postwar Red Scare see Horace Peterson and Gilbert Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917-1918* (Madison, 1957); William Preston, Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933* (Cambridge, 1963); Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria* (Minneapolis, 1955).



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# Katherine Philips Edson and the California Suffragette Movement, 1919-1920

By JEAN LOEWY

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FOR AMERICAN WOMEN, the year 1919-1920 was a year of political transitions. In August, 1920, when Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the woman suffrage constitutional amendment, women in most states moved from some form of second-class citizenship to that of equal suffrage status with men. The old state suffrage associations transformed themselves into units of the National League of Women Voters and the immense potential political power of the American women began to show itself as the women's auxiliaries to the Democratic and Republican National Parties grew in size, number, and importance throughout the nation.<sup>1</sup>

In a similar manner, the activities of Mrs. Katherine Philips Edson of California for that year, as well as for most of her life, illustrate the rapidly expanding political role of the American woman. In a single decade she moved from a 1911 suffragette to a 1921 Presidential appointee as a member of an international conference.<sup>2</sup> In the more narrow political arena, she became a member of the executive committee of the Republican National Party, appearing as an official delegate to the 1920 Republican National Convention.

She functioned equally as well in a bipartisan sense, serving as a regional director of the National League of Women Voters and later as a member of the advisory committee of the Washington Conference on Limitations of Armaments in November, 1921.<sup>3</sup> As a symbol of progressive American feminism, she worked continually for the betterment of men, women, and children, nationally and internationally,

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through implementation of social legislation and international co-operation.

Starting in Los Angeles in 1900-1901, as a young, thirty-year-old mother, within a few years she led a successful campaign for pure milk while serving as chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Friday Morning Club.<sup>4</sup>

Another of her early interests was the woman suffrage movement. She was cochairman of the Los Angeles Political Equality League, in charge of organization,<sup>5</sup> when the 1911 state equal suffrage referendum was passed, changing the section of the 1849 California Constitution which read "any male white citizen" to the new phrase "every native citizen."<sup>6</sup> With the fight for votes successful, Mrs. Edson joined the Progressive Republican movement in California, setting her sights once more on the adoption of new, badly needed social legislation.

Her support for Hiram Johnson, the Progressive candidate for governor in 1912, coupled with her concurrent investigations of the conditions of women in industry for the State Labor Bureau, earned her an executive appointment to the State Industrial Welfare Commission. This appointment required her to divide her time and residency between Los Angeles and San Francisco from 1913 to 1931. Although the sole woman member of the group, she became its director in 1927. For her work on this committee, she is best known for her authorship of a minimum wage bill for California passed in 1913, an early date for such a law.<sup>7</sup>

It was not until early in 1919 that woman suffrage again became really important in California and to Mrs. Edson. In the spring of that year, Mrs. Edson was a delegate from California to the Fiftieth Anniversary Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (commonly called the National American) which was held in St. Louis, Missouri, March 24-29, 1919.<sup>8</sup>

The seventy-year drive for women's rights, particularly equal suffrage, was approaching final victory at this time. The National American and its current leader, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, were fairly certain of imminent passage of the woman suffrage amendment bill in both houses of the Sixty-Sixth Congress meeting in Washington then.<sup>9</sup> This Nineteenth Amendment (which was finally passed for submission to the voters on June 3, 1919), when ratified by three-quarters of the



states, would replace the individual states' prerogative of granting full, partial, or no franchise privileges to women with equal suffrage rights under the Constitution.

In her call for the delegates to the Jubilee Convention, Mrs. Catt proposed two main objectives: first, concerted action to secure the few remaining votes needed in the United States Senate to insure the proposal of the Nineteenth Amendment; second, establishment of a new organization of women voters.<sup>10</sup>

In essence, this convention marked a turning point for the suffragette movement. Past, present, and future all came together as the older delegates could recall the long state-by-state struggle, the two previously successful passings of the Federal Suffrage Amendment bill by the House of Representatives,<sup>11</sup> and the present, almost certain Senate victory.

Mrs. Catt, characteristically thinking in advance, laid out detailed plans for the forthcoming ratification period in both suffrage and non-suffrage states. She controlled a well-knit, efficient organization and, like the able general she was, for the last battle she gathered around her dedicated, intelligent, and articulate women from many states. Their assignment was to work with the individual state suffrage associations to obtain ratification of the federal amendment and then to help in the transformation of these suffrage groups into new, more modern, and useful organizations for enfranchised women. Mrs. Catt proposed that initially the League of Women Voters would operate within the mother body of the National American and that, after the amendment had been made part of the Constitution, the League would promote nonpartisan political education and leadership.<sup>12</sup>

As a delegate from California, Katherine Philips Edson participated in the formation of the new group, composed at this time only of members of suffrage participating states.<sup>13</sup> Like all new organizations, the League of Women Voters needed money and Mrs. Edson, upon receipt of a telegram from Mary Gibson of Los Angeles, was authorized to pledge \$500 from the women of Southern California toward furtherance of the new national service organization.<sup>14</sup> The sum recorded in several sources as ultimately pledged by Mrs. Edson is \$1000, but authorization for the other \$500, marked as pledged from the northern section of the state, does not appear in Mrs. Edson's papers. (The

\$500 pledge from Southern California was paid in October of that year when Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, treasurer of the National American and acting treasurer for the infant League, was sent a Liberty Bond and check to total that amount.<sup>15</sup>)

During the convention proceedings, Mrs. Edson, speaking on behalf of the committee on Women in Industry, made a report to the assembled women on the committee's discussions of "What May Women Voters Do To Further the Welfare and Development of Women in Industry." Their recommendations reflected, to a large degree, Mrs. Edson's aims in social legislation for California—namely, enactment of laws that would help shorten the work week, raise the standard of living, abolish child labor, and establish wages.<sup>16</sup>

By the convention's close, Mrs. Catt's idea of a League of Women Voters had been enthusiastically accepted by the delegates. To facilitate establishment of state chapters of such an organization, the existing Ratification Committee within each of the states was designated to act as organizer for that state.<sup>17</sup> However, since California's women had received the vote eight long years ago, this state's suffrage associations were no longer functioning. Therefore, Mrs. Edson was directed to form the women of Southern California into a League unit, building upon remnants of the former suffrage associations. A like unit was to be formed in the San Francisco Bay area. The two groups would function autonomously under separate cochairmen but would send only one state delegate to the national convention.<sup>18</sup>

Mrs. Edson returned to California prepared to implement the convention's plans. In Los Angeles, a preliminary organizational meeting took place at the home of Mrs. John R. Haynes, reuniting members of the old suffrage groups that had worked together successfully back in 1911.<sup>19</sup> Although no direct documentation is available, it is almost certain that representatives from the Political Equality League, the Votes-for-Women Club, and the College Women Equal Suffrage Association were present. At that time, the women apparently planned a large public meeting to be held at Polytechnic High School on June 28 for the purpose of establishing an official Southern California chapter of the National League of Women Voters.<sup>20</sup>

Mrs. Edson also presented the league idea to the California Federation of Women's Clubs (of which she had been a member and state



committee chairman for many years) and she gained their almost unanimous support and decision to affiliate with the new League.<sup>21</sup> In addition, she wrote to Hiram Johnson, chairman of the Senate Suffrage Committee, urging him to use whatever influence he had to secure passage of the bill proposing the amendment. She received a comforting reply from the former California governor, stating that, in his opinion, the Senate definitely would pass the bill during the current session.<sup>22</sup>

On the national scene, Mrs. Catt was busy issuing orders for the ratification campaign long before the amendment was offered. Under the auspices of the National American, state legislatures had been polled, governors interviewed, and printed information readied for distribution.<sup>23</sup> On May 24, ten days before the final Senatorial action, the state associations received bulletins from Mrs. Catt describing what steps they were to take: namely, institution of statewide press campaigns and personal deputations to the state legislators to gain pledges of their affirmative votes. The bulletin also stated that the National American intended to ask the governors of all equal suffrage states to call for special sessions so that final ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment could take place in time for all American women to vote in the 1920 Presidential elections. (Most regular sessions, including that of California, had already adjourned, some not to return until two years thence.)<sup>24</sup>

It had been assumed by Mrs. Catt and others that the Western states and other full suffrage states would take the lead in ratifying the amendment.<sup>25</sup> On California's part, this was a fair assumption since Governor William D. Stephens had been a friend and supporter of the suffrage movement for many years and the California legislature had memorialized Congress on behalf of the woman suffrage movement.<sup>26</sup>

Mrs. Catt was fully aware of the psychological advantage of early ratification; that is, the sooner some states called their special sessions and ratified, the faster more would jump on the bandwagon. She was counting on the full suffrage states to guide the way and suggested immediate pressure on Governor Stephens to call the legislature back to Sacramento.<sup>27</sup>

In Los Angeles, the June 28 public meeting held to organize local women into a League unit had been successful, with over two hundred women attending. Approving of the League's aims and goals as ex-

plained by the chairman, Mrs. Seward Simons, it appointed a committee to confer with the Northern California section prior to the foundation of a united, but dually governed, California chapter. During the meeting, which Mrs. Edson did not attend since she was at the State Industrial Commission offices in San Francisco, part of the Southern California \$500 pledge to the national treasury was collected and earmarked for ratification purposes. The final action taken at the meeting was the formulation of a resolution addressed to Governor Stephens and the California legislature urging passage of the woman suffrage amendment at an early special session.<sup>28</sup>

In spite of his friendship for the cause of universal woman suffrage, Governor Stephens did not call the legislature back during the summer of 1919, apparently because he knew "that he could be overwhelmed with demands that other matters than that of suffrage be included in the call." He stated that he would forego this action until enough other states had ratified to make the possibility of the 1920 completion date a good one.<sup>29</sup> However, increasing pressure from clubwomen, the newly active League, and prominent political leaders from both major parties, topped by a late October visit from Mrs. Catt, finally induced him to call the special session for November 1, 1919, for the exclusive business of ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment.<sup>30</sup>

Large groups of women from both San Francisco and Los Angeles went to Sacramento to witness the one-day session. No debate took place in either house. The senate voted unanimously for the resolution while the assembly vote was 73-2—one vote being cast not against woman suffrage, but against the "expensive and unwarranted" special session, the other dissenting vote coming from a member who believed that the question of women voting should remain a state prerogative. The meeting ended on a pleasant note for all with Mrs. Robert A. Burdette, a noted California suffrage leader and head of the Los Angeles League unit, addressing the combined houses of the legislature. She received as a memento the gavel used to preside over the day's activities while Governor Stephens was guest of honor at a luncheon tendered by the National American.<sup>31</sup>

Mrs. Burdette had been appointed as an organizer for the League earlier in the year by Mrs. Edson,<sup>32</sup> and the two women were currently engaged in overseeing a committee of Southern California



women, ten from each county, who were preparing a program for the new group. The formation of this county-based committee and an effort to collect the earlier convention pledge from the San Francisco area were among Mrs. Edson's last acts for the League during this year-long period.

In years following, Mrs. Edson stayed active in the National League of Women Voters, served as regional director of the Far West Region, and maintained an active participation in progressive politics.<sup>34</sup> Shortly before her death in 1933, she was among those urging the appointment of Frances Perkins as the first woman member of a Presidential cabinet. Had she lived, there is strong evidence that she would have been one of Mrs. Perkins' lieutenants in the New Deal's Department of Labor.<sup>35</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1944), pp. 324-26, 336.
2. Elmo R. Richardson, comp., *Guide to the Katherine Philips Edson Papers*, rev. by Irving Rosenfeld, 1958, Special Collections No. 235, UCLA Library, Los Angeles, [pp. 1-2].
3. "Katherine P. Edson," *Who's Who in California (1928/1929)*, p. 228.
4. Dora Haynes, Los Angeles, to Miss [Maud] Philips, Pasadena, November 4, 1933, Katherine Philips Edson Papers, 1909-1934, UCLA Library, Los Angeles, Special Collections No. 235, Box 8, File 2.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *California Constitution, 1849*, with an introd. by Robert Glass Cleland (San Marino, Calif.: Friends of the Huntington Library, 1949), p. 4; *Cal. Const.*, Art. 2 (Amend. 1911).
7. *Who's Who in California, loc. cit.*
8. Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, New York, to Katherine Philips Edson, San Francisco, June 6, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 2, File 14.
9. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York, to Katherine Philips Edson, San Francisco, March 3, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 2, File 14.
10. *St. Louis Star*, March 29, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 5, File 3.
11. *Los Angeles Times*, June 5, 1919.
12. *The League of Women Voters* (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Assn., [1919]), I (April, 1919), as found in Edson Papers, Box 6, File 2; see also Carrie Chapman Catt, New York, to Mrs. Robert A. Dean, San Francisco, June 6, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 2, File 14.
13. *St. Louis Star, loc. cit.*
14. Telegram dated March 27, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 2, File 14.

15. Katherine Philips Edson, San Francisco, to Carrie Chapman Catt, New York, October 18, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 1, File 7.
16. *Handbook and Proceedings of the Annual Convention 1914-1920* (New York: [Nat. Amer. Woman Suff. Assn.], 1914-[1921]), p. 22.
17. *The League of Women Voters*, *loc. cit.*
18. Untitled and undated [Los Angeles] newspaper clippings, Edson Papers, Box 5, File 3; see also Carrie Chapman Catt, New York, to Mrs. Robert A. Dean, San Francisco, Edson Papers, Box 2, File 14.
19. Untitled and undated [Los Angeles] newspaper clippings, Edson Papers, Box 5, File 3.
20. *Loc. cit.*
21. Katherine Philips Edson, San Francisco, Calif., to Carrie Chapman Catt, New York, May 20, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 1, File 7.
22. Telegram from Mary Garrett Hay, New York, to Katherine Philips Edson, Coronado, May 15, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 2, File 14; see also Hiram Johnson, Washington, D.C., to Katherine Philips Edson, San Francisco, May 22, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 2, File 14.
23. Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics* (New York: Charles Scribners, 1923), p. 343.
24. Ida Husted Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage* (n.c.: Nat. Amer. Woman Suff. Assn., [c. 1922]), V, 605, 649.
25. *Ibid.*, V, 606.
26. Governor Stephens as quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 26, 1919, pt. 4, p. 14; see also Catt and Shuler, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
27. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York, to Mrs. Robert A. Dean, San Francisco, June 6, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 2, File 14.
28. *Los Angeles Times*, July 1, 1919, pt. 2, p. 5; see also Grace (Mrs. Seward) Simons, South Pasadena, to Katherine Philips Edson, San Francisco, July 3, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 2, File 14.
29. *Los Angeles Times*, October 26, 1919, pt. 2, p. 6, and June 12, 1919, pt. 1, p. 5.
30. *Los Angeles Times*, October 26, 1919, pt. 2, p. 6, and pt. 4, p. 14; see also Catt and Shuler, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
31. *Los Angeles Times*, November 2, 1919, pt. 1, p. 1.
32. Katherine Philips Edson, San Francisco, to Carrie Chapman Catt, New York, October 18, 1919, Edson Papers, Box 1, File 7.
33. *Loc. cit.*
34. *Who's Who in California*, *loc. cit.*
35. Katherine Philips Edson, Carmel-by-the-Sea, Calif., to Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, Albany, November 29, 1932, Edson Papers, Box 1, File 20; see also Frances Perkins, Washington, D.C., to Miss Mary Dewson (Director, Women's Division, Democratic National Campaign Committee), Castine, Maine, August 21, 1933, Edson Papers, Box 2, File 13.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*California Jewish History: A Descriptive Bibliography*. Selected and annotated by Norton B. Stern. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967. 175 pp. \$17.50.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

This exceedingly needed historical tool very clearly reveals how historians of California have neglected the important role that Jewish pioneers and settlers played in the development of the Golden State. Despite the work and contributions of such renowned Jewish pioneers as Benjamin Dreyfus (mayor of Anaheim), Isaias W. Hellman (cofounder of the Farmers and Merchants Bank as well as of the University of Southern California), Albert Elkus (mayor of Sacramento), Solomon Heydenfeldt (State Supreme Court Justice), Harris Newmark (Los Angeles civic leader and author), Oscar Weil (Civil War patriot and musical composer), and other numerous civic, commercial, and financial leaders, little has been written that significantly studies them and their role in California's development. Such neglect by California historians is further compounded when one realizes that later Jewish leaders, especially those connected with the motion picture, textile, and merchandizing industries, have been almost overlooked in the monographic studies of scholars—a field that offers tremendous opportunity for obtaining an academic reputation in this era of publish or perish.

Naturally, the paucity of studies limits the number of entries that the compiler collected, categorized, and annotated. Following an uncomplicated method of organization, Mr. Stern compiled his entries into three categories: Printed Books, Periodical Sources, and Unpublished Sources. The entries in each category are listed alphabetically by author (or by title of article or book when the author could not be determined).

Since the majority of the entries (some 300) are found in the Printed Books category and since many of these works treat Jewish history incidentally, the annotations describing Jewish content in each cited volume are not only essential but excellently presented. Without doubt this section will prove the most time-saving category to the scholar of Jewish history in California.

The second category, Periodical Sources, containing some 145 entries, has a vastly greater proportion of materials dealing directly with Jewish activities in the state, and therefore is, in my judgment, more valuable to the interested historian. Like the preceding category, each entry is very well annotated and analyzed, giving the reader a succinct knowledge of the subject treated. Unfortunately, the number of articles and essays are limited because of the perennial lack of interest among California academic historians.

Finally, the third and last category, Unpublished Works, containing some 43 entries, is of special significance. In addition to containing oral history interviews with such personages as Lazarus Blumberg, Mrs. Jules Kauffman, Edwin J. Loeb, and Edgar F. Magnin, this section includes typescripts of important Jewish

organizations and persons, and materials from a few M. A. and Ph. D. theses. Why more work has not been done in this area by recipients of advanced degrees in history is an interesting question to ponder.

Historians and students of California history are indeed indebted to Norton B. Stern for this pioneering effort: it will not only facilitate research in this essential field of state's history, but it should stimulate study in a most neglected area.

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*The Pearl Hunters in the Gulf of California, 1668. Summary Report of the Voyage Made to the Californias by Captain Francisco de Lucenilla. Written by Father Juan Cavallero Carranco.* Transcribed, translated, and annotated by W. Michael Mathes. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1966. 91 pp. Available to subscribers only.)

*Informe on the New Province of California, 1702, Francisco María Piccolo, S. J.* Translated and edited by George P. Hammond. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1967. 77 pp.)

*Wenceslaus Linck's Diary of His 1766 Expedition to Northern Baja California.* Translated, edited, and annotated by Ernest J. Burrus, S. J. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1966. 115 pp.) Reviewed by Noel J. Stowe.

These three small volumes form an important segment of the Baja California Travels Series. In its entirety the series is bringing to press materials written by or about individuals who have traveled through the region, with each volume being based upon sources contemporaneous with its subject matter. Particularly, these three books report peninsular activity during Spanish hegemony.

Read consecutively, the three present an interesting panorama of activity. Mathes deals with pearl hunting, the earliest form of intense interest in the region; Hammond presents an account of the nascent exploits of the Jesuit missionary effort; and Burrus reveals the interests and motives propelling the latter years of Jesuit activity which came to an abrupt halt in 1768.

In format all three follow the same organization. Each includes a general introduction filling in background details helpful to the reader for understanding the material at hand. Then each discusses information pertaining solely to the translated document included in his respective volume, such as scope of subject matter, accuracy of detail, organizational patterns, and bias of the writer. Finally the translated document appears followed by a selective bibliography.

The introduction in Hammond's work is the most general, the broadest in scope, and would probably be the most helpful and informative to the reader unfamiliar with Baja California history. He discusses historical detail about peninsular activity to the time of Piccolo's writing the included *informe*. Mathes,



on the other hand, writes only of pearl hunting activity and does not deviate to a general discussion of early Spanish interest in the peninsula. Unlike the other two, Burrus essentially writes a brief biography of Linck, author of the *Diary* he includes.

Each volume is well edited with the most meticulous annotation found in Mathes and Burrus. Mathes especially includes copious footnotes to aid the reader's comprehension of terms and geographical locations. In addition, his translated account is the lengthiest of the group. The other two present rather extended introductory remarks, to some degree overpowering and detracting from the respective document itself. Of the three documents translated only Mathes presents something heretofore unavailable in printed form. Hammond's work is a retranslation of Píccolo. Burrus presents the Linck *Diary* in translation for the first time; it previously was published in Madrid but not identified with Linck as the author.

For his volume Mathes selected a rather lengthy report covering the 1668 three month pearl hunting voyage of Francisco de Lucenilla. His expedition, marked by failure, brought to a close the pearl fishing expeditions to the peninsula. Mathes uses the report as an example of a typical pearl hunting expedition. As such he sees in it "the problems and results of the majority of pearl fishing voyages to California during the seventeenth century." The voyage itself may remain unimportant; however, the incompetence characterizing this voyage "coupled with unrealistic expectations and greed describes most crew members on such voyages." Furthermore, the lack of adequate capital for this effort "was the nemesis of most of the pearl fishing license holders."

Written by the Franciscan Juan Cavallero Carranco who accompanied the expedition, the account is replete with references noting lack of respect for any proselytizing effort or church activity in general, such as the saying of Mass at appropriate times. Still, the report does give attention to the problems besetting this pearl fishing effort and illustrates the type of personal interest present on any voyage seeking wealth and fame. "The purpose was to gain pearls and not souls," writes Cavallero. He later continues: "When the mountains were scrutinized from the ships, without a doubt the men thought they would find some hills of silver so refined it could be seen from the ships." While reviewing constantly this gross occupation for the worldly, Cavallero attempts somewhat to describe the Indians and the geography. In reflecting on why the effort failed, he inveighs against the failings of Lucenilla and those who accompanied him (short, of course, of the two priests). What is perhaps interesting in this recital of the crew's poor attributes is his detailing their occupations and birthplaces.

Whereas the Franciscan Cavallero made a "true report" of his "unhappy voyage" of 1668, the Italian Jesuit Francisco María Píccolo in 1702 reviewed the hardships that the Jesuit missionary effort had faced since its inception on the peninsula in 1697, and then went on to assess the promises of a future only awaiting proper nurturing.

For his volume in this series Hammond offers this *Informe* or *Memorial* of Píccolo, the second Jesuit to enter (in 1697) the missionary field in Baja California which had opened early in 1697 under the sole aegis of Juan María Salvatierra. The Píccolo *Memorial* appeared in response to Philip V's decree of 1701. This decree, and a similar request from the Viceroy, asked for a progress report on the missionary field to date. Píccolo was well aware of the impact his report might have in influencing further overall interest in the area and specifically in the missionary activity; it is, therefore, understandable why he paints certain peninsular facts in glowing robes of exaggeration. For instance, in describing the quality of the land, he writes: "There are large and spacious plains, beautiful meadows, very pleasant valleys, many springs, creeks, and rivers whose banks are densely grown with large willows, interspersed with reeds and numerous wild grapevines." Then he adds: "There is an abundance of these and other riches in the land." With respect to the natives, he felt that "by nature they are very lively and alert." He noted "evidences of enlightenment," that they "uphold their erroneous ideas with much reasonableness." Obviously, Píccolo sought to add justification to Philip's decree which also forbade desertion of the California work and more importantly which pledged royal support of six thousand pesos annually. Píccolo's report is more than ever a response to this decree.

Hammond stresses the importance of the *Informe*. For one thing it was the first formal printed account of the early California missionary activity. In it Píccolo described the problems facing the missionary: communication with the natives, dealings with them, and establishing the missions. He also noted progress: successful conversionary efforts, mission construction completed and planned, and harvest from the gardens planted. He explored briefly the financial picture, discussing the mission endowment and yearly income. But the *Informe's* importance goes beyond a mere reviewing of missionary activity to 1702: it helped to spur the royal government to take a decided interest in California and to give this frontier effort the support needed to make it a lasting part of a far-flung empire. Píccolo described the California missionary "fields white unto the harvest" and recommended the recruitment of more missionaries, the establishment of a presidio, the importation of skilled workmen, and other acts to extend the frontier effort. In short, Píccolo thanked the King for the generosity expressed in the 1701 decree and then called for more.

Just as the Píccolo *Memorial* is a good account of the opening years of Jesuit activity so is the Linck *Diary* revealing of the last years of Jesuit control.

The Linck *Diary* of 1766 covers but one portion of the service of this German Jesuit in Baja California—a service which included ten expeditions. Burrus points out the value of Linck's work in describing him as a "diligent reporter" who was imbued with "innate optimism" but not to the extent of overlooking "discouraging realities." This Jesuit was a valuable energetic missionary, an



important explorer, and a writer as well. In Burrus' evaluation the 1766 expedition was "Linck's most significant contribution to the history and geography of the peninsula, as it also occasioned the longest and most detailed of his writings."

Key objectives of this expedition, which began in February, 1766, and ended in April of the same year, included the investigation of the position of the Californias as to their insular or peninsular nature; the examination of the landscape to note possibilities of founding other missions to the north; and the continuing objective, if the Pacific Coast was followed, to discover a safe harbor for the Manila Galleon. Linck also dutifully noted the attitudes of the natives: their customs, habits, social organization, languages, and their apparent receptivity to Christian conversion. An example of his evaluation of the geographic setting is illustrated by his description of one particular spot where he felt "the stream would suffice to irrigate a moderate plot of land visible in the vicinity." In addition, "the entire area is suitable for cattle grazing: shade, water, pasture, and extensive open country. . . . All makes it ideal for raising cows, horses, and mules in considerable numbers, certainly sufficient for maintaining a mission and the tasks indispensable to it."

Burrus notes that this important diary was long missing and primarily known through allusions to its existence. He explains some of the interesting details of his search for and the problems relating to the *Diary*, such as overcoming extensive water damage through the use of ultraviolet light and the discovery of more than one version of it.

The value of the *Diary* not only is found in the worth and merit of the writer's observations but also from the fact that it helps to illumine the latter years of Jesuit work in Baja California—years rather sparsely represented in written accounts. From Linck's writing it becomes evident that the Jesuits were looking still towards extending the missionary field, Christianizing the Indians, and extending the frontier line. The *Diary* significantly helps in further understanding the Jesuit work on the peninsula.

It should be obvious now the important place these three slim volumes have in this series as they provide insights into a Spanish activity and interest which lasted some three hundred years. The fact that they are competently edited and annotated and have a handsome format (the Mathes book being perhaps the best in the latter category) enhances their value. Even more important is the fact that all three historians are eminently qualified to deal with Spanish documents and each is important as a research and publishing scholar. Together these three books make a significant contribution, providing a base for more widespread knowledge about this neglected area.

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NOEL J. STOWE, who is currently completing a study on the riots in New Spain in the seventeenth century, is an assistant professor of history at Arizona State University.

*Retreat to Nevada: A Socialist Colony of World War I.* By Wilbur S. Shepperson (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966. 204 pp. \$5.25.) Reviewed by Robert W. Davenport

If you have enjoyed Robert Hine's *California Utopian Colonies* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1953), you undoubtedly will find *Retreat to Nevada* an interesting addition to the literature on utopian experiments and co-operative communities. Unlike Hine's work, which analyzes the development of some seventeen settlements during the years 1850-1950, the Shepperson volume is a study in considerable depth of one abortive, bizarre experiment in group socialism at Nevada City, near Fallon, Nevada, which lasted from 1916 to 1919. In a sense, it is part of the California story, since it was an offspring of the Llano del Río colony at Antelope Valley.

Professor Shepperson, a member of the history faculty at the University of Nevada, had good materials in building his detailed story of the Nevada Co-operative Colony. The late Senator Patrick McCarran of Nevada obtained part of the colony records, including more than seven hundred letters, and these are now deposited with the Nevada Historical Society. Shepperson also drew on the colony's newspaper, the *Co-operative Colonist*, and other socialist periodicals as well as personal recollections of a number of former colonists and others with some connection with the experiment. From these sources emerges a tragicomical story of an effort to translate a concept, based on utopian thought, populist agitation, and Marxist doctrine, into reality. The Nevada colony was to provide a haven for those weary of the struggle of capitalist competition, for those anxious to escape involvement in World War I, and for those radicals simply dissatisfied with existing institutions. Instead, the experiment, which drew a total of 562 colonists from many parts of United States and several foreign countries, crumbled, primarily from internal difficulties. All that remains of this Eden of the West are some small clay plateaus on an otherwise empty field.

The colony was founded by the promoters of the Llano del Río settlement in Southern California, which began in 1914 and was a failure by 1917. In fact, irregularities in Llano's financial affairs led its promoters, chiefly Job Harriman and E. G. Eggleston, to move to Nevada to have the California enterprise incorporated under the more permissive Nevada laws. Nevada was important to them for another reason: it was especially receptive to a socialist settlement in the Lahontan Valley, which they originally intended to be a branch of the California operation. Nevada needed people. The state had lost one-third of its population in the depression years of 1880-1900. Also, the Socialist Party had made steady gains in the state since 1904, and Nevadans had learned that co-operative action could be beneficial. In fact, it was essential if badly needed projects such as reclamation and irrigation were to become a reality.

The Nevada colony soon became independent of Llano and received wide publicity throughout the country in socialist periodicals. Despite the publicity



and enthusiasm of its promoters, the colony proved to be a mirage. Immigrants found that the elaborate plans for a city did not materialize: the "city" consisted of only two streets and a few adobe and frame buildings. At most, about two hundred colonists lived on colony land at any one time.

In probing the causes of failure, Shepperson finds that poor planning and the lack of a strong, unifying ideology plagued the colony from the start. Also, the original antimilitaristic principles espoused at Nevada City evolved into a strong militarism, a reflection of the melting away of American pacifism and radicalism during World War I. As this occurred, a chief reason for the colony disappeared. Shepperson found that the Nevada City colonists were not visionaries or impractical optimists. They failed because of the failures of their era and because of the failures of human nature. He maintains that, although a mistake, the project was not in vain. In a sense, it is in the mainstream of American history. "In short, most of the utopian *issues* that they advanced were realized in the next generation. But their utopian *ideals* of peace, economic democracy, and social freedom eluded them in much the same way as they have eluded all mankind."

*Retreat to Nevada* undoubtedly will be of greatest value to students of the broader picture of utopianism and radicalism in the West, but it also adds to our knowledge of Nevada in the twentieth century. In this, Dr. Shepperson is a pioneer in a field that needs a great deal more scholarly exploration.

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ROBERT W. DAVENPORT is an assistant professor of history at Nevada Southern University, Las Vegas.

*Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest: A Study of Slavetaking and the Traffic in Indian Captives.* By Lynn R. Bailey. (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966. 236 pp. \$7.95.) Reviewed by Sydney B. Brinckerhoff.

It is unfortunate that the first serious historical study of the traffic in Indian slaves in the Southwest should be such an uneven one. Lynn Bailey, currently on the Library Staff of the University of Arizona, has in earlier works shown his competence as a researcher and author, particularly in the area of Indian studies. In this book, however, he has allowed himself to fall into the trap which seems to face so many anthropologists who attempt to write history. Many of his interpretations are clouded by an uncritical sympathy for the lot of the "poor red man." In his effort to point out the evils of the slave traffic, he succumbs to the temptation to make broad statements that are either undocumented or poorly so, or in large part wrong in the face of strong contrary evidence.

The work is divided into four sections: "Plunder Trails Southward," a narrative of Apache raiding and slavery from 1700 to 1930; "Slave Raiding and the Navajo Wars," 1700-1885"; "Slave Raiders in the Great Basin, 1760-1855"; and "Victory over Tradition," a discussion of the United States government's struggle against Indian slavery following the Civil War.

The weakness in the author's approach is most evident in Section One where the subject is the Spanish treatment of the Apache Indians. Here he contends that the Spanish introduced slavery in the Southwest, initiated the war against the Apaches, and that the Indians sought vengeance because their women and children were made slaves. The well-known facts are otherwise. Mr. Bailey also reveals his poor understanding of Spanish military policy when he attributes a plan to corrupt the Apaches with liquor, initiated by Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez in 1786, to the Visitador General José de Gálvez who was in New Spain twenty years earlier.

Most difficult to accept is Bailey's emotional language when he refers to Spanish treatment of the Apaches. He makes frequent use of the word "diabolical" (page 25) and speaks of the "concentration camp atmosphere" of the Establecimientos de Paz (page 32). The author's highly subjective approach is further manifested in the use of the term "Yoke of Spanish aggression" (page 31). He is apparently still imbued with the concept of the Black Legend, abandoned now by serious scholars for more than fifty years and hardly valid for a narrative history of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries.

The author is at his best in the discussion of Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American relations with the Navajo Indians, and the slave trade in New Mexico. The subject is treated with detailed accuracy, sensitivity, and considerable objectivity. In the section that deals with the Great Basin and Utah, the author also seems to be on stronger ground. He has applied himself assiduously to the sources and has made a solid contribution to our understanding of the part played by the slave trade in development of the area, especially the part played by the Mormon Church in an attempt to reduce the traffic. The last section will be of greatest value to the ethnologists. Here the author explores not only the attempt by the United States to end the slave trade beginning in 1865, but he also presents some analysis of the effects of slavery on individuals, both Red and White.

While this work cannot stand as a major contribution to the field of Western American history, Bailey has written a useful, original book which will be of interest to students of the American Southwest. Readers must be warned to accept material in the opening section with considerable caution.

Typography and illustrations are adequate, while the design, as always in a Westernlore Press book, is most attractive. The volume is number Thirty-two in the Great West and Indian Series.

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SIDNEY B. BRINCKERHOFF is assistant director of museums, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson.

*Spain in America.* By Charles Gibson. (New York: Harper and Row, 1966. 239 pp. \$1.95, paper.) Reviewed by Theodore E. Treutlein.

It is quite fitting that *The New American Nation Series* should include a volume entitled *Spain in America*, and this may be said without attempt to make comparisons between the Bourne volume of 1904 and Professor Gibson's fine



work. The present volume is a study of the Spanish Colonial period to the eve of Independence, but with the added advantage that the Epilogue provides excellent guidelines for the pursuit of the study into the postindependence period. A fact which readers will appreciate very greatly in Dr. Gibson's writing is his ability to describe and analyze developments of the past through some sort of "test of cogency" which dispenses with the trivial and the irrelevant without insisting that the only meaning of cogency be the manner in which the present grew out of the past.

Running through the volume is a deep appreciation of the problem faced by all people in the Latin-American field, namely, that of making adequate generalizations for a vast area which has been, for the Colonial Period, too long tied in a package and labelled Empire. Latin Americanists have long wrestled both with their consciences and with their subject-matter in attempting to find the pervasive "unities" in the Empire experience. Dr. Gibson is penetrating enough in his approach to recognize that even the cloak of Empire provides but an illusory unity, yet his handling of the problem is constructive, not derisive. "It is as easy," he writes, "to exaggerate the unity of the colonial period as it is to exaggerate the disunity of the national period. . . . If unity consisted principally in the common attachment to Spain, disunity naturally made its appearance when that attachment was dissolved" (pp. 208-209).

Since the harnessing and directing of human energy is such a fundamental thing, a special word should be said concerning the author's study of the *encomienda* (Chapter 3). He finds that *encomienda* "performed the very real function of transferring Indian wealth to Spanish hands, in a procedure that was more orderly than outright looting of spoils" (p. 67). But one is gratified to note that the author goes far beyond obvious labor aspects of *encomienda* and demonstrates the position of the institution in the struggle between the Crown and the "incipient colonial aristocracy" (p. 58). The New Laws, expressed in the form of humanitarian policy, represented also the struggle for royal power which finally triumphed, but Indian depopulation, "an ecological phenomenon, uncontrollable in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century terms," had a more direct effect in this than did legislation. The change in the meaning of *encomienda* as it existed in the early colonial period to what it became in the later period is clearly indicated. The author notes that the "new colonial aristocracy would be based on land, commerce, or mineral wealth, rather than upon native tribute payments, and the labor necessary for these new enterprises would be secured in ways quite unrelated to *encomienda*" (p. 67).

To turn to the format of the book, it is a pleasure to encounter a work having footnotes where such should be, right at the bottom of a page. The notes reveal a painstaking search by the author for the best materials in the living literature of articles and books produced by North American, Latin-American, and European scholars. The critical Bibliography at the end of the volume is very useful through its selective completeness and its subject organization.

After reading the volume and then turning to the editor's Introduction (or vice versa), one learns with surprise that the volume is one which is concerned with "the history of the area now embraced in the United States." This is not accurate, and it will not be appreciated by Latin Americans, though Professor Albert Bushnell Hart's shade might be flattered.

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THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN, professor of history at San Francisco State College, is the author of *Missionary in Sonora* and *Pfefferkorn's Description of the Province of Sonora*.

*Pueblo Warriors & Spanish Conquest*. By Oakah L. Jones, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966. 188 pp. \$5.00.) Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter.

Judged by any standard this is a good book and a contribution to the growing bibliography of the Southwest. The story of the conquest of New Mexico is not a new tale, but the point of view from which it is studied in this work gives it renewed vitality. Instead of the strictly Hispanic approach of the old chronicles, and different from the Indianist approach of some revisionist historians, this book demonstrates the interrelatedness of purpose of the Spanish conquerors and their Indian allies in the maintenance of control over the Río Grande Valley. The book clearly illustrates the Spanish application of the technique of divide and rule, showing how the Iberian conquerors made use of one group of Indians to achieve superiority over another.

Though the Pueblos were not the only Indians to be employed as Indian auxiliaries by the Spaniards, Jones uses these natives as an example of this colonial technique. The book emphasizes the assistance of auxiliaries in the reconquest of New Mexico, following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. After a lengthy introductory chapter, the book is subdivided into chronological organization. Separate chapters treat Pueblo aid in the reconquest; organization and unification; pacification and integration; the defensive crisis, 1754-1766; and the crisis resolved. The work concludes with a Summary and a brief Epilogue; the former provides especially worthwhile reading, while the latter is suggestive of new and later avenues of approach to the general topic.

One is impressed by the regularity of use of Indian allies and by evolution of a satisfactory policy concerning local natives, particularly the advances made during the governorships of Juan Bautista de Anza and of Fernando de la Concha in the last half of the eighteenth century. A notable aspect is the gradual increase in both absolute numbers and percentage of Indian participants in various forays. Rewards in booty, trade goods, and the promise of continued Spanish support were sufficient motives for Pueblo participation. Though Spanish control was never maximum, and while individual expeditions were not frequently successful, the ultimate effect was to pacify directly and indirectly Spain's northernmost interior province. The employment of Indian allies did not end with the terminal point of the book, 1794, but rather at that date dependence shifted gradually away from the Pueblos toward the non-Pueblo people of the South-



west. Jones advances no claim that the Spaniards had a monopoly of this important system, but the book shows the successes and failures of their system and its regional variations.

Dr. Jones' Bibliography is extensive, and perhaps could have been reduced in length by lumping together those source materials taken from the same archive. The book is tastefully presented, with satisfactory illustrations and sufficient maps to orient the reader. It will become a "standard item" of regional literature.

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DONALD C. CUTTER, who received his Ph.D. degree from the University of California at Berkeley and who is a specialist on Spanish Borderlands history, is professor of history at the University of New Mexico.

*Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer, Professor of Agriculture in the Sheffield Scientific School from 1864 to 1903.* Edited by Francis P. Farquhar. (New Edition; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966. 583 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

Brewer, a trained botanist, served as the principal assistant, indeed, the chief field director, for the Whitney Geological Survey of California. That survey was the forerunner of the United States Geological Survey. Travelling over fourteen thousand miles in the three years he labored in California, Brewer filled many of his leisure hours in writing detailed and graphic letters to his brother in the East. These letters are Brewer's California "journal."

Originally published by Yale University Press in 1930, a second edition was issued by the University of California Press in 1949. On the occasion of the initial appearance of Brewer's "journal," Charles L. Camp wrote in his review for this quarterly (December, 1930) that the "letters, but recently brought to light, have here been arranged and edited with care and skill by Mr. Farquhar, who has added illuminating notes and illustrations. The whole constitutes a notable addition to the history of scientific exploration in this State, besides being a readable and enjoyable narrative" (401). In the interval, nothing has changed to alter that judgment.

This 1966 "new edition" makes available a book long out-of-print. On that score, it is welcomed. But to claim that this is a "new edition," is extremely misleading. A careful comparison of the 1949 University of California printing makes clear that the "newness" of this volume is restricted to a page-and-one-half new Preface, a few changes and omissions in introductory matter, and a handful of alterations in the Notes. No more. The editor properly calls this 1966 printing "a third edition," not "a new edition" as it is heralded on the title page and dust jacket. The latter is erroneous. Besides, the volume has been reproduced by what appears to be photo-offset. Such reproduction hardly warrants the price asked for this *third edition*.

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DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR., editor of the *Southern California Quarterly*, is a most productive scholar in California history.

*Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966.* By Leonard J. Arrington. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 234 pp. \$7.50.) Reviewed by John E. Baur.

Arrington, an eminent authority on the economic history of the Intermountain West, has made full use of Utah-Idaho's records to produce a valuable study of the growth of Western beet sugar manufacturing in general and the particular and sometimes unique contributions of "U & I."

The Mormon Church (which owns 47 per cent of U & I stock), always interested in achieving prosperity for the Latter-day Saint farmers, early sought a substitute for imported cane sugar. Apostle John Taylor studied European beets in the 1850's, but his resulting Deseret Manufacturing Company waned. Other American attempts, Mormon and Gentile, also failed until E. H. Dyer of Alvarado, California, in 1870 improved the granulation technique for beet sugar. The fourth successful American beet factory was that of Utah Sugar Company at Lehi, in 1891. Horticulturist Arthur Stayner, responsible for this victory, had studied with California's Dyer. Dyer's son superintended the new Utah factory. Financially, the enterprise was aided by Church investments and loans both in the formative period and during later crises.

Arrington demonstrates how pioneer endeavors at Lehi developed successful agricultural and manufacturing programs. Irrigation and fertilization, little attempted by California's beet raisers, were experimental at Lehi. Meanwhile, the region's farmers learned to fight rootlet infection *via* crop rotation.

Soon, U & I expanded into the irrigated Bear River Valley, Idaho's Snake River area, and down into southern Utah, bringing prosperity to the neighboring farmers, while the corporation weathered major problems created beyond its borders. With the acquisition of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines and Cuban sugar's preferential treatment, domestic beet raisers and processors faced severe rivalry. The First World War, which brought a decline in world sugar production, seemed a boon, and sugar prices rose. U & I built several wartime factories to keep pace. Global conflict, however, brought problems as well as customers, for Europe had supplied the best beet seed to America. Work shortages meant high labor costs, while farmers' beet prices squeezed U & I buyers. Only too slowly did the United States Food Administration permit a new rise in sugar prices. In 1919, when these imperfect controls were lifted, expansion led to overproduction and resulted in the crash of 1921. From that major agricultural depression beet interests never fully recovered until the Great Depression of the 'thirties merged into another war.

Another long-lived dilemma was Curly Top, a virus which curled leaves, retarding beet growth and sugar output. As a result, from 1919 to 1934, more than two score factories closed or were partially idled. A newly developed strain of beet, U.S. No. 1, solved the problem in the 'thirties.

World War II influenced the American beet sugar industry, particularly U & I, by forcing manufacturers to adopt revolutionary processes. Interestingly, Pacific



Coast Issei and Nisei moved to Utah and Idaho and saved the beet crops during the labor shortages of 1942-1945.

More recently, hybrids which germinate earlier, giving a longer growing season and thus a higher sugar content, have aided the prospering industry. Automation is tending to reduce factories: U & I has five major installations instead of the many small local mills of low production typical of early years.

Californians will find several roles their state played in Great Basin sugar. Much of the fight against Curly Top was planned at the Citrus Experiment Station, Riverside, while important progress in beet farm mechanization was undertaken at the Davis Agricultural Experiment Station. For a time, U & I grew beets at Hemet.

Of course, the scope of this work is wider than California, Utah, or Idaho. It explains major aspects of an expanding agriculture in the Far West.

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JOHN E. BAUR, a doctoral graduate from UCLA and author of several studies on California history, is a member of the history department staff at San Fernando Valley State College.

*The Pacific Basin: A History of Its Geographical Exploration.* Edited by Herman R. Friis. (New York: American Geographical Society, 1967. 457 pp. \$12.00.)  
Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

*The Pacific Basin* is a concise cartographic, hydrographic, and oceanographic history of the insular and littoral areas of the Pacific. These histories, edited by Herman R. Friis, are presented in fifteen chronologically arranged chapter-articles, each of which is authored by an expert in a given aspect of Pacific history. This new work fills a long standing need for a single volume overview of the area.

The introductory chapter by William L. Thomas deals with general natural factors and sets the stage for the historical development of the Pacific. Islands, ranging in size from Borneo to atolls and rocks, are classified geologically, and the climatological zones and ocean currents encountered in the area are discussed.

With the physical aspects of the area considered, the second chapter by Norman J. W. Thrower deals with the general problems faced by man in confronting a body of water as great as that of the Pacific—accurate, scientific navigation. The art of navigation as practiced by the Greeks and Phoenicians, developments by the Chinese and Arabs, and the adoption of these widespread concepts by Italian and Catalán navigators during the Middle Ages is treated as is the effect of Renaissance science upon man's more accurate determination of his whereabouts at sea. With the twentieth century as a closing date, navigation is expanded to include meteorology and hydrography during the nineteenth century as reflected in the labors of Matthew Fontaine Maury.

The dissemination of man's applied knowledge of navigation is principally

through cartography, and R. A. Skelton deals with this topic in chapter three. Classical and Ptolemaic concepts of cartography, real and imaginary, are treated along with the successive changes effected by discovery and science upon these concepts resulting in the highly accurate maps and charts of the nineteenth century.

With the establishment of general considerations, geographical exploration of the Pacific by its inhabitants and outsiders is treated in the successive nine chapters. Chapter four by Gordon R. Lewthwaite treats of the early voluntary and involuntary navigation and expansion by the native peoples of the Pacific islands. Traversing broad expanses of water in small canoes, the Pacific peoples developed celestial navigation and stick cartography, and established contact throughout the insular areas of the south and central Pacific. China's contribution to the geography of the region is covered by Chiao-min Hsieh in chapter five. Despite their advanced knowledge of cartography and navigation, the Chinese voyagers carried out little planned expansion eastward but rather sailed southward to Malaysia and westward to India and Africa. Japan's exploration of the Pacific is treated by Nobuo Muroga in chapter six, and like China, this exploration was highly limited. Apart from the exploration of the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands to the south and Sakhalin to the north, Japan's expansion was restricted by her self imposed isolation.

Intruders to the Pacific were, however, to acquire extensive knowledge of the area. Initial exploration was virtually a Spanish monopoly following the discovery of the South Sea by Vasco Núñez de Balboa in 1513 and the circumnavigation of Fernando Magellanes and Sebastián Elcano in 1520-1522. Spain's control of the American and Asiatic littoral led to highly accurate charting of those areas as well as the intervening expanse of ocean during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Donald D. Brand treats of Spain's contribution to Pacific geography in chapter seven and that of Portugal in chapter eight. While Spain's approach to the Pacific was from the Americas, Portugal's was from India, and during the sixteenth century, Portuguese cartography of China, Japan, and the East Indies reflected the extensive knowledge of those areas acquired by her navigators.

By the seventeenth century northern European nations were beginning to challenge Iberia's monopoly in the Pacific. Dutch contributions to the geography of the Pacific are discussed in chapter nine by Jan O. M. Broek. Dutch navigators for the East India Company in the seventeenth century shed much light upon the southern regions of the Pacific, Australia, New Guinea, and Tasmania, as well as upon the East Indies and Japan. Coupled with Dutch supremacy in cartography during that period, knowledge of the area was greatly broadened.

Also by the seventeenth century Russia had expanded eastward to the Pacific littoral. D. M. Lebedev and V. I. Grekov, in chapter ten, treat of Russia's contributions to geographical knowledge of the Siberian coast, Sea of Okhotsk, Sakhalin, and of the extension of this knowledge in the eighteenth century to include



the Bering Straits, Aleutians, and Alaska. By the nineteenth century Russia expanded her interests, commercial, and scientific, to the Central and South Pacific and contributed greatly to the knowledge of those areas.

Scientific observation was the principal cause of French interest in the Pacific. In chapter eleven Robert J. Garry treats of France's contributions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to knowledge of the area, particularly the regions of New Caledonia, Tonga, Samoa, Australia, and the Society Islands.

Science was also the principal cause for organized British interest in the Pacific since initially English voyages to the area were but occasional and designed to destroy Spanish shipping. Richard J. Ruggles, in chapter twelve, deals with England's sixteenth century raids on Spanish shipping such as those of Thomas Cavendish, eighteenth century scientific and commercial voyages to the insular areas of the Pacific as well as the Pacific Northwest exemplified by James Cook, and nineteenth century colonizing and scientific activity such as that of Flinders and Darwin.

The United States role in the geography of the Pacific is discussed by Kenneth J. Bertrand in chapter thirteen. As a successor to Great Britain, the United States entered the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest in the late eighteenth century, but within a few decades the activities of Wilkes and Maury established her as a principal contributor to the scientific knowledge of the Pacific. United States naval activity in the area during the twentieth century has made her the major source of Pacific geography, hydrography, and oceanography.

Twentieth century developments in general are treated in chapter fourteen by H. Arnold Karno. Cartographic, hydrographic, and oceanographic advances made with the aid of radio, sonar, submarines, aircraft, and other modern devices culminating in the International Geophysical Year are discussed.

The final chapter by Wilcomb E. Washburn deals with the impact of knowledge of the Pacific upon Europe and the exchange of culture factors between those areas. Unfortunately, a strong anti-Spanish bias is evident in this chapter marring an otherwise highly objective book.

Over one hundred pages of footnotes listed by chapter supply the reader with an extensive bibliography of published works in English, Spanish, French, Russian, Dutch, Japanese, Chinese, German, Portuguese, Swedish, and Norwegian. Unfortunately, the proofreading of the Notes was at times poor, and a separate, alphabetical Bibliography would have been a valuable inclusion. An analytical Index makes reference more simplified.

Well illustrated with plates of rare and representative maps, and printed on a good quality paper, *The Pacific Basin* is an attractive volume. No student or collector of Pacific history or cartography can pass by this book for it certainly is a basic reference work in the field.

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## In Memoriam

JOHN CHRISTIAN WOLFSKILL

1883-1968

John Christian Wolfskill, born on his father's ranch in downtown Los Angeles on January 20, 1883, truly represented the unique and beautiful heritage of his native California. A gentle, thoughtful man, he embodied the physical and spiritual blending of the West's great pioneering nations. The son of California-born Joseph William Wolfskill and Doña Elena de Pedrorena, John descended from ancestors who proudly and without prejudice brought together the distinctive elements of the Hispanic and Anglo American cultures. His kindness, his courage, and indeed his handsome features were typical of the members of his historic family.

During his eighty-five years, John Wolfskill witnessed the transformation of Los Angeles from a sleepy, agricultural community, still influenced by its Hispanic traditions, into a thriving megalopolis—one of the nation's largest urban areas. He saw his father's vineyards and orchards, which lay between San Pedro and Alameda Streets near the heart of Los Angeles, subdivided in the 1890's to form town lots in the "Wolfskill Orchard Tract." The family home, known as the "Old Adobe," was torn down to make room for expansion of the Southern Pacific Railroad facilities. As a young man, John participated in much of the activity contributing to the city's phenomenal growth.

I first became acquainted with John Wolfskill while doing research for a biography of his remarkable grandfather, Los Angeles pioneer resident William Wolfskill. The elder Wolfskill, of German and Irish ancestry, was born in Kentucky in 1798 of pre-Revolutionary American settlers, and spent his youth as a trapper and trader in Missouri and Santa Fé. Credited with opening the Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico to Southern California, William Wolfskill remained in Los Angeles from 1831 until his death in 1866. During this time he founded the commercial orange industry, helped establish the wine industry, took an active part in municipal government and public education, and, with the acquisition of a 17,500 acre land grant in the Sacramento Valley and Rancho Santa Anita, San Francisco, and Lomas de Santiago in Southern California, participated in stock raising and land development. William's wife, Magdalena Lugo of Santa Barbara, was the daughter of José Ignacio Lugo, the second Spanish child born in California (1774). José Ignacio was confirmed in the Catholic faith by Father Junípero Serra at Mission San Antonio de Padua in 1778. Magdalena's mother, Doña Rafaela Romero, was a native of Baja California, and among her cousins were members of the Vallejo, Carrillo, Cota, and Ruiz families.

John Christian's father, José Guillermo (Joseph William) Wolfskill, was the eldest son of William and Magdalena Wolfskill. Born in 1844 at the Old Adobe, José pursued an interest in the plants and trees of his father's ranch and, in later



life, enjoyed a successful career in agriculture, especially in the growing and marketing of oranges. He was elected to the Los Angeles City Council for two terms and served on both the land and water commissions. In 1869 Joseph Wolkskill, as he became known during the American period, married Elena de Pedrorena, youngest daughter of Don Miguel and Doña María Antonia Estudillo de Pedrorena of San Diego. Parents of twelve children, the Joseph Wolkskills lived at the Old Adobe in Los Angeles and later in Redondo Beach. They also spent time at Rancho San Jacinto, 12,000 acres of land in Riverside County inherited from Elena's family.

John Wolkskill's maternal grandmother, María Antonia Estudillo, was the daughter of José Antonio Estudillo, a native Californio born at Monterey Presidio in 1815 and scion of one of Southern California's most influential families. Capable and well-educated, José Antonio served as captain of the San Diego Presidio, secular administrator of Mission San Luis Rey, and alcalde (mayor-magistrate) of the town of San Diego. He built the beautiful, twelve-room Estudillo residence, a handsome landmark today in San Diego's Old Town, and still identified in American fiction as "Ramona's Marriage Place." The Estudillos were grantees in 1829 of the 4,436 acre Janal Rancho and 6,657 acre Otay Rancho south of San Diego, and in 1842 received Rancho San Jacinto Viejo, site of present-day San Jacinto and Hemet.

John Wolkskill's maternal grandfather, Miguel de Pedrorena, a native of Madrid, arrived in San Diego from Lima, Peru, in 1836. A sea trader and merchant, Miguel became a shipping agent in the Southern California port and turned also to ranching upon his marriage to María Antonia Estudillo. In 1845 he was granted Rancho El Cajón—48,799 acres of rich, ex-Mission San Diego grazing land embracing what is now El Cajon, Bostonia, Santee, Lakeside, and Flinn Springs to El Monte County Park. In 1846 Governor Pío Pico granted to the Pedrorena family Rancho San Jacinto Nuevo y Potrero, site of present-day Eden, Lakeview, and Nuevo in Riverside County's Moreno Valley. Despite his Spanish heritage, Miguel favored United States intervention in California and served as Commodore Robert F. Stockton's aide and Collector of Customs during the American occupation of San Diego in 1846-1847. He became one of the few Spanish-born delegates to the California Constitutional Convention of 1849.

Thus, John Christian Wolkskill's lineage was predominantly Hispanic—his four grandparents representing the families of Estudillo, Pedrorena, Lugo, and Wolkskill—but his heritage was balanced by North American influences and especially the social setting of Los Angeles after 1880. The tide of immigrants from the Midwest created a noticeable change in the composition of the city, and few remembered that Spring Street had once been Calle de la Primavera and Main Street known to all as Calle Principal. John attended first and second grades at the historic old Spring Street School between Fifth and Sixth, and later attended both Hewitt School, east of Alameda Street, and Amelia Street School, located behind the Maier Brewing Company. He completed his education in

electrical engineering at Throop Institute, later known by the more famous name of California Institute of Technology.

John Wolfskill married Lucretia Phelps of San Jose on July 3, 1917, at Mission Santa Clara. Mrs. Wolfskill was the daughter of Milo Dudley Phelps, a pioneer California vintner whose ancestors served in the American Revolution. The John Wolfskills spent the early years of their marriage at Rancho San Jacinto Nuevo y Potrero in Riverside County. They became the parents of three children, Joseph, Ruth Marie (Willing) and Margaret Ann (Mahuka). In later years they occupied the Wolfskill family home on South Ardmore near Wilshire Boulevard and participated in the activities of the Southern California Historical Society, Los Fiesteros, and the First Century Families of Los Angeles. John's wife, Lucretia, died in 1966.

John Christian Wolfskill, the last surviving child of Joseph and Elena de Pedrorena Wolfskill, will long be remembered and loved for the patience, humility, thoughtfulness, and generosity he practiced throughout his lifetime. Blessed with the faith and courage of Spanish settlers, the romantic and adventuresome spirit of Mexican rancheros, and the enterprising nature of North American traders, "Don Juan," as he was affectionately known to his friends and family, was truly a native son. The gold of California could be found within his heart.

IRIS HIGBIE WILSON



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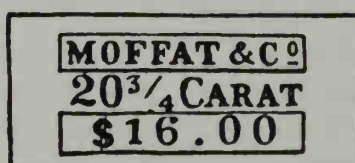
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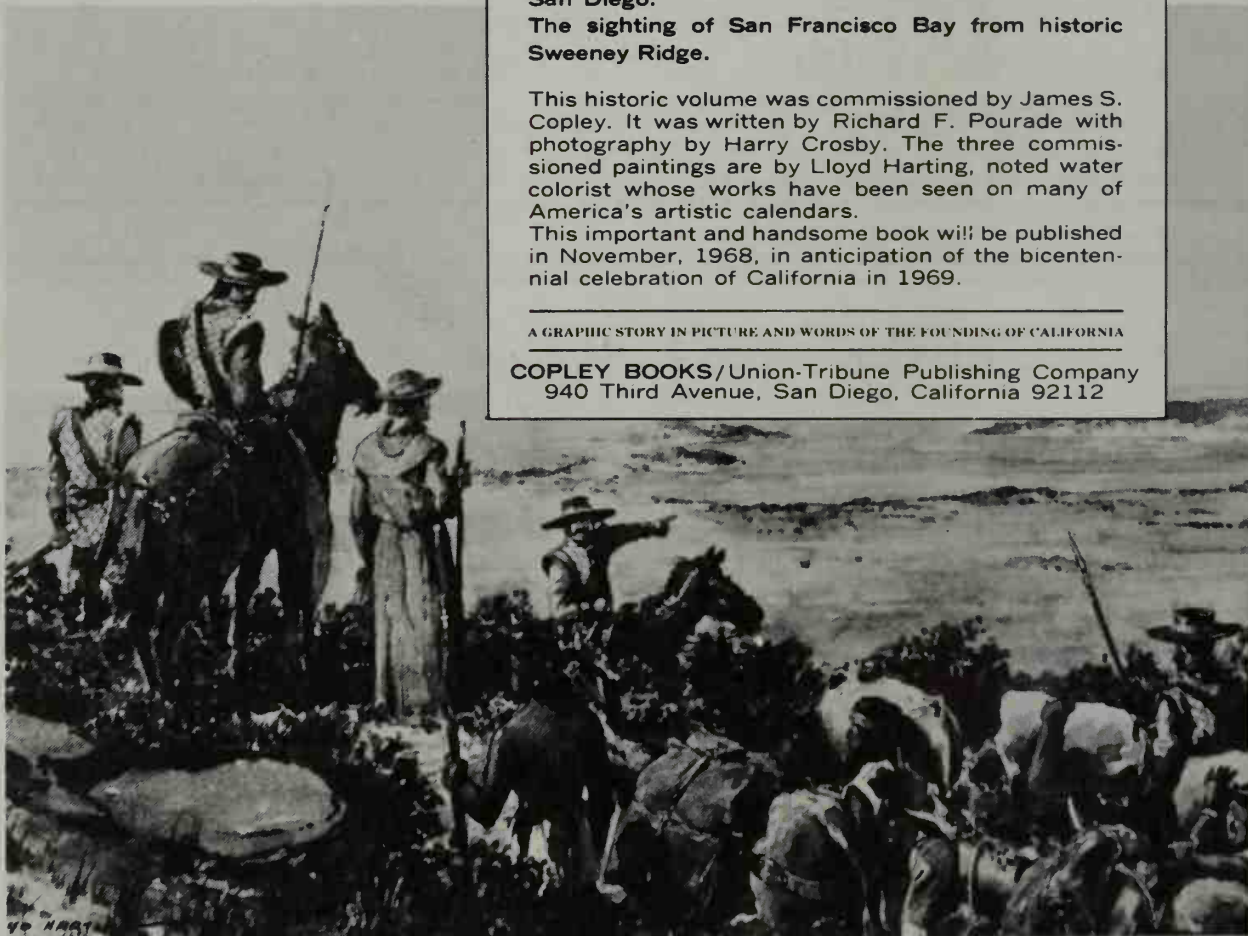
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# INDEX TO VOLUME FORTY-SEVEN

- A. Galli & Company (1881), 205  
 Abrams, Professor Richard, 333  
 Acuña, Rudolph F., rev. of Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of Spanish-Speaking Californios, 1846-1890*, 75-76  
 Adams, Edson, 4, 6  
*The Agenzia Fugazi*, 203  
 Agriculture, see "The Era of the Lemon: A History of Santa Paula, California," 113-140; "Pioneering Land Development in the Californias," 15-39, 141-155, 237-250  
 Aguilar, Francisco Javier, 295  
 Aldrich, Nelson, 331  
 Allen, William H., Jr., 16, 19, 26, 143, 239  
 Allison, Chester, 149  
 Allison, Joe, 144, 149  
 Alvarado, Juan Bautista (1769), 295  
 Alviso, California (1849), 53-59 *passim*  
 Amador, Pedro, 295  
 American Party (Know Nothings), 255  
 American Peace Corps, 228  
 American history, see "Wider Frontiers," 219-236  
*America's Western Frontiers: The Exploration and Settlement of the Trans-Mississippi West*, by John A. Hawgood, rev., 76-77  
*Ancient Hunters of the Far West*, Richard F. Pourade, ed., rev., 176-177  
 Anderson, David, 148  
 Andrade, Guillermo, 22  
 Argenti, F., 10  
 Arrington, Leonard J., *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966*, rev., 362  
 Arrow Rock, Missouri (1848), 42, 45, 50, 61  
 Arrowhead Lake Company, 16  
 Ashe, J. Porter, 109  
 Ashley, D. R. (Monterey, 1857), 255, 256  
 Axe, Ruth Frey, "More Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner, Including Tributes and Bibliographies," 273-284; biog., 273  
 Babson, Seth (architect), 103  
 Bailey, Lynn R., *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest*, rev., 357-358  
 Baja California, 15-39 *passim*, 141-155 *passim*, 237-250 *passim*  
 Baker, Edward D. (1857), 253, 255, 256  
 Baker, Isaac, insert between 72-73  
 Baldwin, Joseph G. (1853), 259-260  
 Bale, Dr. Edward, 56  
*Banca Colombo*, 203  
*Banca Popolare Operaia Italiana*, 209  
 Bank of America National Trust and Savings Association, see "Democracy in Banking," 195-218  
 Bank of Italy, see Bank of America  
 Barbieri, P., 204  
 Bard, Thomas (1886), 119  
 Barsness, Richard W., rev. of Kemble, ed., *To California and the South Seas: The Diary of Albert G. Osburn, 1849-1851*, 86-87  
 Barsotti, Camillo, 209  
 Batchelder, Pérez M., insert between 71-73  
 Baumgartner, Josephine, comp., *Oregon Historical Quarterly Index, 1940-1960: XLI-LXI*, rev., 87-88  
 Baur, John E., rev. of Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966*, 362-363  
 Beard, Charles Austin, 224, 225, 228  
 Beebe, Lucius, and Donald Clegg, *The Trains We Rode*, rev., 85-86  
*Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966*, by Leonard J. Arrington, rev., 362-363  
 Belgrano, F. N., 203, 209  
 Belknap, Michael R., *The Era of the Lemon: A History of the Santa Paula, California, 113-140*; biog., 113  
 Belknap, Dr. Robert, 131  
 Bell, John (1860), 266  
 Bell, Samuel (Mariposa, 1857), 255  
 Bellechasse Plantation, Louisiana, 163  
 Benjamin, Judah Philip, see "Judah Philip Benjamin in California," 157-173  
 Bihler, William (1888), 22  
 Bingham, John A., 46  
 Blanchard, Arthur, 129  
 Blanchard, Eliot, 130, 131  
 Blanchard, Mrs. Eliot (Elizabeth), 131  
 Blanchard, Nathan W., 113-140 *passim*  
 Blanchard, Nathan W., Jr., 126  
 Blanchard, Sarah, 127  
 Bogardus, Emory S., "In Memoriam: Rockwell D. Hunt, 1868-1966," 89-91  
 "Book Notes," by Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager, 183-188  
 "Book of Remembrance," 92-93  
 Borel, Antoine, 22  
 Bowie, G. W. (1857), 261-265 *passim*  
 Bowker, William K., 19  
 Bradley, E. L., 114  
 Brant, Byron K., 142  
 Brant, David Mann, 145  
 Brant, David Otto, see "Pioneering Land De-



- velopment in the Californias: An Interview with David Otto Brant," 15-39; 141-155; 237-250
- Brant, Otto Freeman, 16, 18, 19, 142-155 *passim*, 237-250 *passim*; port., 15
- Brant, Robert Alston, 18, 145, 147, 149-150
- Brant Rancho, map of, 17
- Briggs, George (Santa Paula), 114, 132
- Briggs, Mrs. Mary B. Lindley, 109
- Brinckerhoff, Sydney B., rev. of Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest*, 357-358
- Brittingham, Juan, 25
- Broderick, David C., 255
- Brown, Alan K., *Sawpits in the Spanish Red Woods, 1787-1849*, rev., 176
- Brown, H. A. (1853), 8
- Brown, Norman D., "Edward Stanly: First Republican Candidate for Governor of California," 251-272; biog., 251
- Brown, Roberto (1850), 73
- Bryan, William Jennings, 317-326 *passim*
- Bucareli y Ursúa, Antonio María de, 295
- Buchanan, James (1856), 12, 13, 255
- Burdette, Mrs. Robert A., 348
- Burnett, Dwight, 54
- Burnett, Peter Hardeman, 45, 53, 54, 55
- Burnett, Thomas, 54, 55
- Burnett, White, 54, 56, 59
- Burns, R. P. (San Francisco), 208
- Burrus, Ernest J., *Wenceslaus Linck's Diary of His 1766 Expedition to Northern Baja California*, rev., 352; rev. of Smith, Kessell and Fox, *Father Kino in Arizona*, 79-80
- C-M Ranch Company, *see* California-Mexico Land and Cattle Company
- Cabrera Bueno, José González, *see* González Cabrera Bueno, José
- Caglieri, George G., 206
- Caglieri, Victor A., 207
- Caldwell, George, 125, 132
- Calexico, California, 240
- California (vessel), 161
- California Federation of Women's Clubs, 346-347
- California Fruit Canners Association, 199, 204
- California Fruit Growers Exchange, 123, 124, 125
- California Jewish History: A Descriptive Bibliography, by Norton B. Stern, rev., 351-352
- California-Mexico Land and Cattle Company, 15-39, 143, 148-155, 239-246 *passim*
- California Lima Bean Association, 124
- California Museum Association, 105, 106
- California Outlook (1911), 331
- California Progressives and Foreign Policy, by Thomas G. Paterson, 329-342
- California Taxpayers' Association (1927), 124, 125
- California Weekly (Journal, 1909), 329, 331
- Calles, General Plutarco Elías, 25
- Camp, Charles L., 278
- Captain Charles M. Weber, *Pioneer of the San Joaquin and Founder of Stockton, California*, by George P. Hammond and Dale L. Morgan, rev., 81-82
- Carpenter, Edwin H., 281
- Carpenter, Horace W., 4, 6, 8
- Carr, John (Weaverville, California), 253, 264
- Carrancistas (1913), 320, 324, 325
- Carranza, Venustiano (1913), 318, 319-320
- Carrillo, José Raimundo, 295
- Castillero, Andrés, 165
- Castro, Victor, 6, 7
- Catt, Carrie Chapman, 344-348 *passim*
- Cavagnaro, Joseph, 207
- Chandis Securities Company, 25
- Chandler, Harry, 19, 143, 144, 148, 149; port., 15; 237-250 *passim*
- Chandler, Norman, 244, 247
- Chandler, Ralph, 244
- Channel Indians (1769), 301-303
- Chenery, R. (1857), 256
- Chichizola, Antonio, 206
- Chinese in Santa Paula, California, 127
- The Church of the Advent, San Francisco, 158, 167-168
- Citrus Growers' Exchange, 142
- Citrus Industry, *see* "The Era of the Lemon: A History of Santa Paula, California," 113-140
- Clappe, Dr. Fayette, 55
- Clark, George H. (Sacramento), 109
- Clark, Harry H., 19, 242
- Clark, LaVerne Harrell, *They Sang for Horses: The Impact of the Horse on Navajo and Apache Folklore*, rev., 178-179
- Clark, Oliver P., 16, 19, 142, 143
- Clegg, Donald, and Lucius Beebe, *The Trains We Rode*, rev., 85-86
- Cocopah Lands (1904), *see* Mountain Land Tract
- Coffee, William, 64
- Coffroth, James W. (1857), 255
- Cole, Cornelius, 253, 256, 260

- Colley, Charles C., rev. of Pourade, *Ancient Hunters of the Far West*, 176-177
- Colorado River, 241, 247
- Colorado River Land Company, 16, 18, 19, 23; map of, 20
- Columbus Savings & Loan Society (1893), 202, 203, 211
- Committee Members of the Society, 377
- Constitution* (vessel), 51, 52
- Constitutionalists (Mexico, 1913), 319, 320, 325
- Contra Costa, California, 4
- Coombs, Fred, insert between 72-73
- Costa, Giacomo, 206
- Costansó, Miguel, 293-305 *passim*
- Cota, Pablo Antonio, 295
- Crespi, Fray Juan, 294, 299-300
- Crocker, Charles, 102, 253
- Crocker, Edwin Bryant, *see* "Lady Bountiful: Margaret Crocker of Sacramento," 99-112 *passim*; 253
- Crocker, Henry J., 204
- Crocker, Margaret, *see* "Lady Bountiful: Margaret Crocker of Sacramento," 99-112
- Crocker, McKune and Robinson (1854), 102
- Crocker Art Gallery, California, 99-112 *passim*
- Cuneo, Joseph, 206
- Cushman, Dan, *The Great North Trail*, rev., 180-182
- Cutter, Donald C., rev. of Jones, *Pueblo Warriors & Spanish Conquest*, 360-361
- Daily Alta California* (newspaper), 51, 52
- Dante Alighieri Society, California, 199
- Davenport, Robert W., rev. of Shepperson, *Retreat to Nevada: A Socialist Colony of World War I*, 356-357
- Davis, Ben G., 321
- Davis, Claude (Los Angeles), 239-240
- Davis, Jefferson (1865), 158
- The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of Spanish-Speaking Californios, 1846-1890*, by Leonard Pitt, rev., 75-76
- de la Barra, Francisco (1913), 322
- Del Pino, Carlo, 211
- Del Valle, Reginaldo Francisco, *see* "Reginald del Valle: A California Diplomat's Sojourn in Mexico," 315-328
- DeMartini, Paul, 205, 206
- "Democracy in Banking: The Bank of Italy and California's Italians," by Joseph Giovino, 195-218
- Den, Dr. Richard, 56
- De Rutte & Co. (San Francisco), 12
- The Diaries of Peter Decker: Overland to California in 1849 and Life in the Mines, 1850-1851*, Helen S. Giffen, ed., rev., 77-78
- Díaz, Porfirio, 22, 48, 330, 331
- Dorset, Phyllis Flanders, *Historic Ships Afloat*, rev., 83
- Douglas, Donald (Douglas Aircraft), 238
- Duke, Donald, rev. of Beebe and Clegg, *The Trains We Rode*, 85-86
- Dunnica, Nancy (1851), 60
- Edmunds, C. K. (Pomona), 277
- Edson, Katherine Philips, *see* "Katherine Philips Edson and the California Suffragette Movement, 1919-1920," 343-350
- "Edward Stanly: First Republican Candidate for Governor of California," by Norman D. Brown, 251-272
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 277
- Elías, Francisco, 25
- The Era of the Lemon: A History of Santa Paula, California*, by Michael R. Belknap, 113-140
- Everett, Edward (1860), 266
- Ewing Young, *Master Trapper*, by Kenneth L. Holmes, rev., 177-178
- Explorations in Lower California*, by J. Ross Browne, ed. by Spencer Murray, rev., 80-81
- Fagan, James J., 206
- Fardon, George, insert between 72-73
- Farquhar, Francis P., ed., *Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer*, rev., 361; 278
- Fassett, Mrs. J. Sloat, 109
- Father Kino in Arizona*, by Fay Jackson Smith, John L. Kessell and Francis J. Fox, rev., 79-80
- Fauchery, Antoine, insert between 72-73
- Federal Land Commission (1851), 159-160
- Ferry Building (San Francisco), photo., 200
- Fields, Stephen, 102
- Fillmore, California, 119
- Fontana, Marco J., 199, 204
- Ford, J. M., insert between 72-73
- Foster, C. P. (Santa Paula), 123
- Fouregeaud, Dr. Victor John, 56
- Fox, Francis J., John L. Kessell and Fay Jackson Smith, *Father Kino in Arizona*, rev., 79-80
- Free-Soil Republican Party of California (1857), 251-272 *passim*
- Frémont, John Charles, 255



- French Beauty Brassiere Company, 133  
 French Mutual Provident Savings and Loan Society (1860), 202  
 Fresno *Republican* (newspaper), 335  
 Friday Morning Club of Los Angeles, 344  
 Friis, Herman R., ed. *The Pacific Basin: A History of Its Geographical Exploration*, rev., 363-365  
 Fromen, Anthony, 64  
 Fruit Growers Supply Company, 125  
 Fugazi, John F., 202, 203, 209  
 Fugazi, Samuel B., 210  
 Fugazi Travel Agency (San Francisco), 206
- Gálvez, José de, 291  
 Galvin, John, ed. *Western America in 1846-1847: The Original Travel Diary of Lieutenant J. W. Abert Who Mapped New Mexico For the United States Army*, rev., 179-180  
 The Garibaldi Society, California, 199  
 Georgia (vessel), 48, 49  
 German Savings and Loan Society (1868), 202  
 Ghirardelli, Domenico, 199  
 Ghirardelli Chocolate Company, 199  
 Giannini, (A. P.) Amadeo Peter, see "Democracy in Banking: The Bank of Italy and California's Italians," 195-218; port., 195, 200  
 Giannini, Attilio, 210  
 Giannini, Luigi, 205  
 Gibson, Charles, *Spain in America*, rev., 358-360  
 Gibson, Mary (Los Angeles), 345  
 Giffen, Helen S., ed. *The Diaries of Peter Decker: Overland to California in 1849 and Life in the Mines, 1850-1851*, rev., 77-78  
 Giffney, Amelia (Sacramento), 108  
 Gillig, H. M., 108  
 Giovinco, Joseph, "Democracy in Banking: The Bank of Italy and California's Italians," 195-218; biog., 195  
 Godfrey, William, insert between 72-73  
 Goldstein, S. L., 204  
 Gómez, Francisco, 293, 294  
 González Cabrera Bueno, José, 297  
 Graham, John (Pomona), 52  
 Great Depression (1930-1935), 125  
 Great Imperial Valley, photo essay, between 144-145  
*The Great North Trail*, by Dan Cushman, rev., 180-182  
 Greene, Donald Paul, rev. of Cushman, *The Great North Trail*, 180-182  
 Greenwood, Robert, 279
- Grieb, Kenneth J., "Reginald del Valle: A California Diplomat's Sojourn in Mexico," 315-328; biog., 315  
 Griffith, Mrs. Connie, 159  
 Grondona, Charles, 206, 209  
 Gwin, William, 255
- Hagan, H. H., 159  
 Hager, Anna Marie, and Everett Gordon, "Book Notes," 183-188  
 Hager, Everett and Anna Marie, 273  
 Hale, William Boyard (1913), 320-321, 322, 323  
 Hammond, George P., *Informe on the New Province of California, 1702*, rev., 352; and Dale L. Morgan, *Captain Charles M. Weber, Pioneer of the San Joaquin and Founder of Stockton, California*, rev., 81-82  
 Hardeman, Glen H., 44-45  
 Hardeman, Glen Owen, see "Sketches of Dr. Glen Owen Hardeman: California Gold Rush Physician," 41-71; port., 41  
 Hardeman, John Locke, 42-43, 59  
 Hardeman, Joseph, 44  
 Hardeman, Letcher, 44  
 Hardeman, Locke, 44  
 Hardeman, Nancy, 44  
 Hardeman, Nicholas P., "Sketches of Dr. Glen Owen Hardeman: California Gold Rush Physician," 41-71; biog., 41  
 Hardeman, Susan, 44  
 Hardeman, Thomas, 41-42  
 Harding, George L., 278  
 Hardison, A. C., 126  
 Hardison, Guy L., 123  
 Hardison, Louis A., 128  
 Hardison, Robert, 133  
 Hardison, Wallace L., 119, 120, 121  
 The Hardison Ranch Company (Santa Paula), 123  
 Haskell, Arnold, 19, 26, 27, 150, 243-246  
 Haskell, Edward, 132  
 Haskell and Chandler, 19  
 Hawgood, John A., *America's Western Frontiers: The Exploration and Settlement of the Trans-Mississippi West*, rev., 76-77  
 Haynes, Mrs. John R., 346  
 Hays, Colonel Jack, 8-13 *passim*  
 Hearst, William Randolph (1916), 333  
 Hellman, I. W., Sr., 203, 206  
 Heney, Francis (1914), 336  
 Henry, Bill (Los Angeles), 238  
 Hibernia Savings & Loan Society (1859), 202

- Higgins, E. B. (Santa Paula), 114  
 Hill, William (1888), 22  
 Hispanic-American relations (1913), 315-328  
*Historic Ships Afloat*, by Phyllis Flanders Dorset, rev., 83  
 Hoffman, Judge Ogden, 161  
 Holmes, Kenneth L., *Ewing Young, Master Trapper*, rev., 177-178  
 Hopkins, Mark, 253  
 Huerta, General Victoriano, 315-328 *passim*; 331  
 Huff, William G. (sculptor), 280  
 Huggins, Dorothy H., 278  
 Hunt, Rockwell D., "In Memoriam," 89-91  
 Huntington, Collis P., 253  
 Hussey, John A., rev. of Giffen, ed., *The Diaries of Peter Decker: Overland to California in 1849 and Life in the Mines, 1850-1851*, 77-78
- Iaccheri, G., 206  
 Imperial Valley, California, photo essay, between 144-145  
 "In Memoriam: John Christian Wolfskill," 366-368; "Rockwell D. Hunt," 89-91  
*Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest*, by Lynn R. Bailey, rev., 357-358  
 Indians (1769-1777), 291-313 *passim*  
*Informe on the New Province of California, 1702*, by George P. Hammond, rev., 352  
 Inge, Samuel (of Alabama), 252  
 Italian-American Bank, 203  
 Italian Chamber of Commerce, California, 211  
 Italian-Swiss Agricultural Colony, *see* Italian-Swiss Colony  
 Italian-Swiss Colony, 203  
 Italians in California, *see* "Democracy in Banking," 195-218
- J. P. Morgan and Company, 334  
 Jackson, Joseph Henry, 281  
 Jacobs, Wilbur R., "Wider Frontiers—Questions of War and Conflict in American History: The Strange Solution by Frederick Jackson Turner," 219-236; biog., 219  
 James, William, 228  
 Janin, Louis, 163  
 Janss Brothers (Los Angeles), 237  
 Japanese in Santa Paula, 127  
 Jenkins, W. O. (of Mexico), 27  
 Johnson, George, insert between 72-73  
 Johnson, Hiram, 329-342 *passim*; 347  
 Johnson, John Neely, 253  
 Johnson, Kenneth M., "To California on the *Sarah Sands*: Footnote Eight," 73-74; biog., 73  
 Johnson, Lyndon B., 222, 336-337  
 Johnson, Reverdy, 160, 164, 167  
 Jones, Oakah L., *Pueblo Warriors & Spanish Conquest*, rev., 360-361  
 "Judah Philip Benjamin in California," by Edgar M. Kahn, 157-173  
 "Julius Kellersberger: A Swiss as Surveyor and City Planner in California, 1851-1857," by Jack J. Studer, 3-14
- Kahn, Edgar M., "Judah Philip Benjamin in California," 157-173; biog., 157  
 "Katherine Philips Edson and the California Suffragette Movement, 1919-1920," by Jean Loewy, 343-350  
 Kellersberger, Caroline, 3, 6  
 Kellersberger, Julius, *see* "Julius Kellersberger: A Swiss as Surveyor and City Planner in California, 1851-1857," 3-14  
 Kemble, John Haskell, ed., *To California and the South Seas: The Diary of Albert G. Osburn, 1849-1851*, rev., 86-87  
 Kenneally, Finbar, O.F.M., *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives: A Calendar*, rev., 83-85  
 Kennedy, John F., 336  
 Kent, William (1912), 332, 333, 335, 336  
 Kessell, John L., Fay Jackson Smith, and Francis J. Fox, *Father Kino in Arizona*, rev., 79-80; rev. of Clark, *They Sang for Horses: The Impact of the Horse on Navajo and Apache Folklore*, 178-179  
 Know Nothing Party (1855), 253
- L. Scatena & Company, 205, 210  
*La Capitale* (newspaper), 211  
 "Lady Bountiful: Margaret Crocker of Sacramento," by Barbara Lowney, 99-112  
 La Follette, Robert, 331, 336  
 Lagomarsino, Madeline, 207  
 Laiolo, Antonio, 210  
 Land development in California, *see* "Pioneering Land Development in the Californias," 15-39, 141-155, 237-250  
 Lane, Franklin K., 334, 336  
 Lanzas, Castillo, 166  
*La Voce del Popolo* (newspaper), 211  
 Leonard, Carl, 143  
 Leonard, Carla, 143  
 Leonard, Dr. J. P., 56



- Leuchtenburg, William E., 329, 336  
 Levaggi, G. B., 206, 209  
 Limoneira Company, 120, 122, 123, 127  
 Link, Arthur S., 329, 331  
 Lippmann, Walter, 227  
*L'Italia* (newspaper), 211, 212  
 Livingston-Little, Dallas E., rev. of Dorset, *Historic Ships Afloat*, 83  
 Loewy, Jean, "Katherine Philips Edson and the California Suffragette Movement, 1919-1920," 343-350; biog., 343  
 Long, John Davis (1897), 223  
 Longyear, Douglas, 239  
 Lord, Eliot, 198  
 Los Angeles (1892), 108-109; (1920's), 237-250 *passim*  
 Los Angeles Abstract Company, 16  
 Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, 238  
 Los Angeles High School, 146-147  
 Los Angeles Shipbuilding Company, 237  
 Los Angeles Suburban Homes Company, 16  
 Los Angeles *Times* (newspaper), 144, 237-250 *passim*  
 Lovelace, Maud Hart, 279  
 Lowney, Barbara, "Lady Bountiful: Margaret Crocker of Sacramento," 99-112; biog., 99  
 Lyon, William N., rev. of Galvin, ed., *Western America in 1846-1847: The Original Travel Diary of Lieutenant J. W. Abert Who Mapped New Mexico for the United States Army*, 179-180  
  
 M. H. Sherman Company, 25; *see also* Moses H. Sherman  
 McAllister, Matthew Hall, 161  
 McClatchy, C. K., 332, 335  
 McCorkle, Joseph, 255  
 McFie, Maynard (Los Angeles), 238  
 McGowan, Joseph A., rev. of Hammond and Morgan, *Captain Charles M. Weber, Pioneer of the San Joaquin and Founder of Stockton, California*, 81-82  
 McGuire, Leo J., 141  
 McIntyre, S., insert between 72-73  
 McKevett, Charles H., 121, 129  
 McKevett, Harriet, 123  
 McKinley, William, 227  
 McKinstry, Dr. (of New Helvetia), 56  
 Madero, Francisco I., 315, 331  
 Mahan, Alfred Thayer, 219-236 *passim*  
 Malm, C. A., 204  
 Manderville, J. W., 13  
 Marguerite Home, Sacramento, 105  
  
 Marsili, Joseph, 212  
 Mathes, W. Michael, *The Pearl Hunters in the Gulf of California, 1668*, rev., 352; rev. of Friis, ed., *The Pacific Basin: A History of Its Geographical Exploration*, 363-365; rev. of Murray, ed., *Explorations in Lower California*, 80-81  
 Mattes, Merrill J., rev. of Stanger, *Sawmills in the Redwoods: Logging on the San Francisco Peninsula*, 175-176; of Brown, *Sawpits in the Spanish Red Woods, 1787-1849*, 176  
 Maytorena, José (Sonora), 319  
 Meeker, David (1857), 258  
 Melies, Gaston, 122  
 Mellus, George, 73, 74  
 "Members of the Society," 369  
 Merle, A., 204  
 Merritt, John (1888), 22  
 Mexicali, Mexico, 240  
 Mexicali Valley (1929), 27  
 Mexican Revolution (1910), 329-340 *passim*  
 Mexicans in Santa Paula, 127  
 Mexico (1913), 315-328  
 Meyers, W. E., 158  
 Micou, William C., 163  
 "Middlings Purified," 114  
 Miramar Hotel, Santa Monica, 147  
 Monge, C. L., 212  
 Moon, Andrew J., 4, 6  
 More, Thomas W., 113  
 "More Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner, Including Tributes and Bibliographies," by Ruth Frey Axe, 273-284  
 Morgan, Dale L., and George P. Hammond, *Captain Charles M. Weber, Pioneer of the San Joaquin and Founder of Stockton, California*, rev., 81-82  
 Morgan, J. Pierpont, 331  
 Mountain Land Tract, Mexico (1904), 22, 23  
 Murray, John S., 10, 11  
 Murray, Spencer, ed. of J. Ross Browne, *Explorations in Lower California*, rev., 80-81  
 The Mutual Aid Society, California, 199  
  
 Nahl, Charles, 104  
 National League of Women Voters, 343-350 *passim*  
 Nave, Henry J., 212  
 New Almadén Mine Case (1860), 158, 165  
 The Nineteenth Amendment (1919), 343-350  
 North Beach, San Francisco, *see* "Democracy in Banking," 195-218  
*Northerner* (vessel), 52

- Nunes, Joseph A. (1857), 255  
 Nunis, Doyce B., Jr., rev. of Farquhar, ed., *Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer*, 361; rev. of Hawgood, *America's Western Frontiers: The Exploration and Settlement of the Trans-Mississippi West*, 76-77
- Oakland, City of, 6, map 7  
 Oakland *Enquirer* (newspaper), 335  
 Ohio (vessel), 47, 48, 61  
 Older, Frémont, 332, 333, 336  
 Oleum, California, 120  
 Oliveland's Ranch (Santa Paula), 122  
 Oregon Historical Quarterly Index, 1940-1960: Volumes XLI-LXI, comp. by Josephine Baumgartner, rev., 87-88  
 Ortega, José Francisco, 294, 295, 305  
 O'Shaughnessy, Nelson (1913), 317  
 Ostaggi, Leo, 212  
 Osuna, Juan Ismerio (1769), 295  
 Otis, Harrison Gray, 15; port., 16; 144, 237  
 Outland, Charles, 128  
 Owens, Rev. Isaac, 64
- The Pacific Basin: A History of Its Geographical Exploration*, ed. by Herman R. Friis, rev., 363-365  
 Paganini, Robert, 211  
 Pájaro Valley, California, 304  
 Palms, California, 142  
 Panama (vessel), 50, 51, 52, 60  
 Park, Treanor W. (1857), 255, 256  
 Parrón, Father Fernando, 293  
 Paterson, Thomas G., "California Progressives and Foreign Policy," 329-342; biog., 329  
 Peachy, Archibald C., 164, 165  
 The Pearl Hunters in the Gulf of California, 1668, by W. Michael Mathes, rev., 352  
 Peña, Francisco (1769), 295  
 Peña, Gerardo (1769), 295  
 Pedrini, Armando, 207, 209, 211  
 Peralta, Domingo, 11  
 Peralta, Luis, 4  
 Peralta, Vicente, 11, 12  
 Peralta Rancho, map, 5  
 Pérez, Juan (of San Antonio), 292  
 Perine, George M., 210  
 Perkins, Frances, 349  
 Perna, Louis, 212  
 Pershing, John J., 44, 331  
 Pesqueira, Gov. Ignacio, 319  
 Petroleum (Ventura County), 119, 120, 121
- Pfaffinger, Frank X., 16, 19, 237, 239  
 Phelan, James D., 332  
 The Photoplay Company, 122  
 Pico, Antonio María (of San José), 165  
 "Pioneering Land Development in the Californias: An Interview with David Otto Brant," ed., with an Introd. by Noel J. Stowe, 15-39, 141-155, 237-250  
 Pitman, Dr. Frank W., 277  
 Pitt, Leonard, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of Spanish-Speaking Californios, 1846-1890*, rev., 75-76  
 Point Lobos (1769), 298-299  
 Point Reyes (1769), 305, 306  
 Pomona College (1935), 277  
 Ponzio, Amadeo, 212  
 Port Hueneme, California, 131, 132  
 Port Mugu, California, 131  
 Porter, David Dixon, 48  
 Portolá, Gaspar de, see "The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770," 291-313  
 "The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770," by Theodore E. Treutlein, 291-313  
 Potter, David M., 228  
 Pourade, Richard F., ed., *Ancient Hunters of the Far West*, rev., 176-177  
 Powell, H. M. T., 56, 57, 58  
 Powell, Walter, 56  
 Prat, Pedro, 293, 294  
 Pueblo Warriors & Spanish Conquest, by Oakah L. Jones, rev., 360-361  
 Puig, Juan (1769), 295  
 Pulsation Controls Company, 133
- Quilici, Anania (San Francisco), 207
- Ramsay, William L., 129  
 Rancho La Questa, Santa Paula, 124  
 Rancho Santa Paula y Saticoy, 113-140 *passim*  
 Randolph, Edmund, 165-167  
 Rankin, Ira (1857), 256  
 "Reginald del Valle: A California Diplomat's Sojourn in Mexico," by Kenneth J. Grieb, 315-328  
 Renters' Loan & Trust Company, 210  
 Republican National Party (1920), 343-350 *passim*  
 Republican Party in California, see "Edward Stanly: First Republican Candidate for Governor of California," 251-272  
 Retreat to Nevada: A Socialist Colony of World War I, by Wilbur S. Shepperson, rev., 356-357

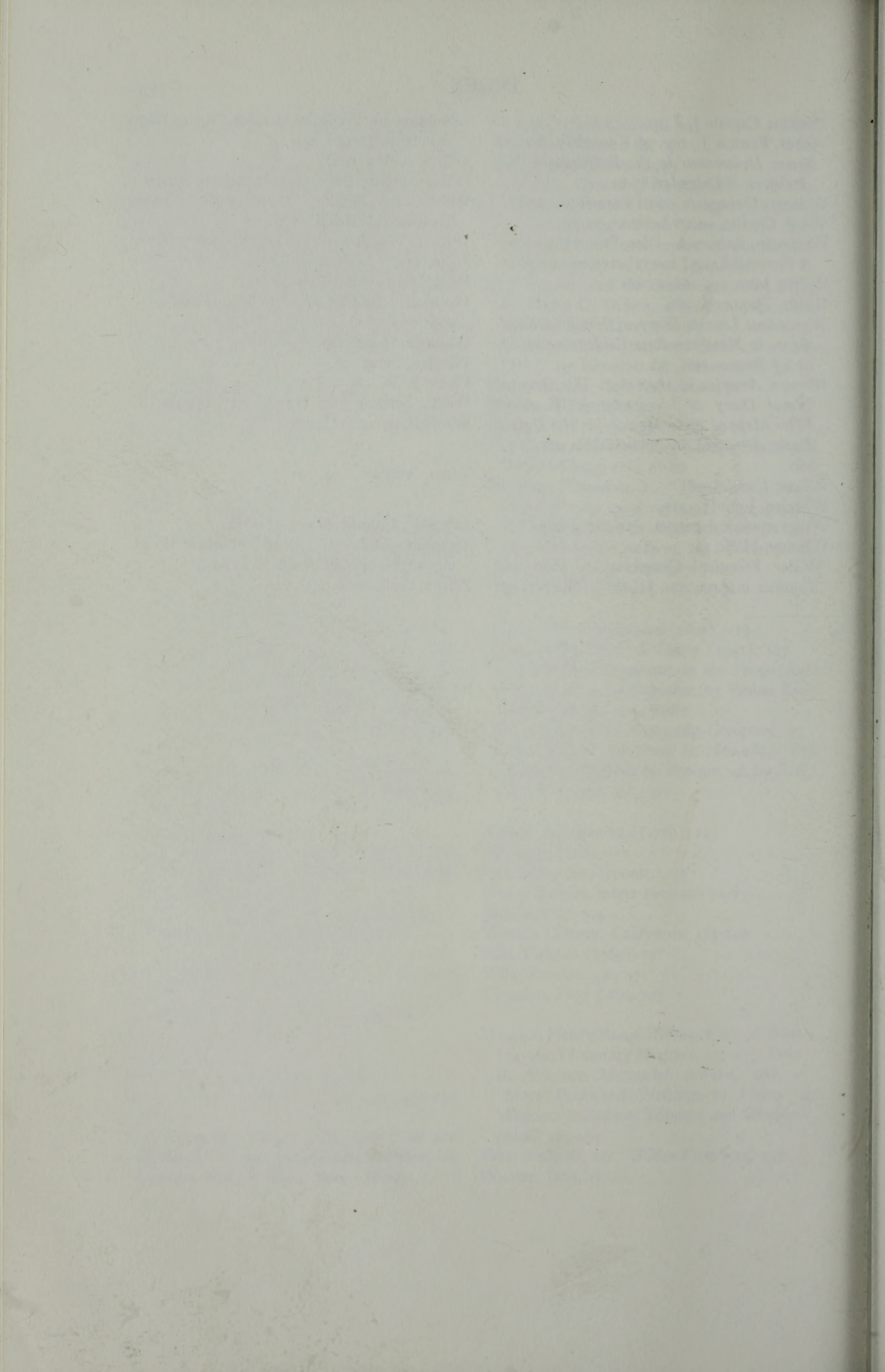


- Rhodes, Margaret Ellen, *see* Margaret Ellen Crocker
- Rice, Francisco (1850), 73
- Richardson, Ernest, 131, 133
- Río de los Temblores* (Santa Ana), 298, 300
- Rivera y Moncada, Fernando Javier, 292, 293, 294, 295
- Riveros, Felipe (Sinaloa), 319
- Robinson, R. H. (1852), 7
- Robles, Juan José, 295
- Rockefeller, John D., 331
- Rockwell D. Hunt, 1868-1966 "In Memoriam," by Emory S. Bogardus, 89-91
- Rockland Lime Company, 59, 62-64; illus., 63
- Rogers, Mrs. Henry Wade, 346
- Rolle, Andrew, rev. of Holmes, *Ewing Young, Master Trapper*, 177-178
- Romeo, Pietro, 212, 214
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 224, 225, 232
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 224, 336, 337
- Rossi, P. C., 204
- Rowan Building, Los Angeles, 239
- Rowell, Chester, 331, 332, 335
- Ryland, J. T., 55
- Sacramento, California (1860's), 99-112; *see* "The Great Flood of 1862 at Sacramento City," between 104 and 105
- Sacramento *Bee* (newspaper), 332, 333, 336
- Sacramento Society of Pioneers, 106
- Salsbury, A. J., 119
- St. Francis Dam (1928), 130
- San Antonio* (vessel), 292, 293
- Sanborn, Colonel W. J., 118
- San Carlos* (vessel), 292, 293
- San Diego, California (1769-1770), *see* "The Portolá Expedition," 291-313 *passim*
- San Fernando Valley, California, *see* "Pioneering Land Development in the Californias," 15-39; 143, 144, 149
- San Francisco Bay (1769), 305, 306
- "San Francisco—1851: The Golden City as the Argonauts Saw It," pictorial essay, comments by Robert A. Weinstein, insert between 72-73
- San Francisco *Bulletin* (newspaper), 332, 333, 334
- San Francisco *Wave* (newspaper), 107-108, 110
- San José* (vessel), 304, 305
- San Pedro Valley, California, 304, 305
- Sawtelle, William H., 318
- San Simeon Bay, California, 73
- Santa Ana Water Company (Santa Paula), 118
- Santa Clara Valley, California, 54-55
- Santa Fé Trail (1849-50), 45-47 *passim*
- Santa Paula, California, *see* "The Era of the Lemon: A History of Santa Paula, California," 113-140
- Santa Paula High School, 129
- Santa Paula Realty Board, 132
- Santa Paula y Saticoy Oil Company, 132
- Sarah Sands* (vessel), *see* "To California on the *Sarah Sands*: Footnote Eight," 73-74
- Sargent, Aaron A. (Nevada, 1857), 256
- Sawmills in the Redwoods: Logging on the San Francisco Peninsula*, by Frank M. Stanger, rev., 175-176
- Sawpits in the Spanish Red Woods, 1787-1849*, by Alan K. Brown, rev., 176
- Sbarboro, Alfred, 204
- Sbarboro, Andrea, 203, 204
- Scatena, Lorenzo, 205, 206
- Schenck, Captain J. F., 47
- Schmolz, William, 12
- Serra, Fray Junípero, 292, 295
- Servín, Manuel P., rev. of Baumgartner, *Oregon Historical Quarterly Index, 1940-1960: Volumes XLI-LXI*, 87-88; rev. of Stern, *California Jewish History: A Descriptive Bibliography*, 351-352
- Shannon, Mrs. Julia, insert between 72-73
- Sharp, James, 129
- Shepperson, Wilbur S., *Retreat to Nevada: A Socialist Colony of World War I*, rev., 356-357
- Sherman, Moses Hazeltine, *see* "Pioneering Land Development in the Californias"
- Shew, William, insert between 72-73
- Simmons Bed Company, California, 204
- "Simon Pures" (1857 political party), 256-257
- Simons, Mrs. Seward, 348
- "Sketches of Dr. Glen Owen Hardeman: California Gold Rush Physician," by Nicholas P. Hardeman, 41-71
- Slavery Question, 257-259
- Sloat, John D., 161
- Slocum's Ferry (San Joaquin Valley), 57
- Smith, Fay Jackson, John L. Kessell and Francis J. Fox, *Father Kino in Arizona*, rev., 79-80
- Soberanes, José María, 295
- Soracco, Carlo, 210
- Southern California Walnut Association, 123
- Southworth, Albert, insert between 72-73

- Spain in America*, by Charles Gibson, rev., 358-361  
 Spreckels, Rudolph, 334  
 Sproul, Dr. Robert Gordon, 278  
 Staats, William, 143  
 Standard Oil Company (1909), 331  
 Stanford, Leland, 103, 253, 266  
 Stanger, Frank M., *Sawmills in the Redwoods: Logging on the San Francisco Peninsula*, rev., 175-176  
 Stanly, Edward, see "Edward Stanly: First Republican Candidate for Governor of California," 251-272  
 Stanton, Edwin McMasters, 165  
 Star Film Stock Company, 122  
 State Industrial Commission (1919), 348  
 State Labor Bureau (1912), 344  
 Steckel, M. L., 128  
 Steffens, Lincoln, 333, 335  
 Stengel, Christian, 22  
 Stephens, William D., Governor, 347, 348  
 Stern, Norton B., *California Jewish History: A Descriptive Bibliography*, rev., 351-352  
 Stewart, Lyman (1886), 119  
 Stockton *Record* (newspaper), 333, 335  
 Stowe, Noel J., ed., "Pioneering Land Development in the Californias: An Interview with David Otto Brant," 15-39, 141-155, 237-250; biog., 15; rev. of Burrus, *Wenceslaus Linck's Diary of His 1766 Expedition to Northern Baja California*, 352; rev. of Hammond, *Informe on the New Province of California, 1702*, 352; rev. of Mathes, *The Pearl Hunters in the Gulf of California, 1668*, 352  
 Streeter, Thomas W., 279  
 Studer, Jack J., "Julius Kellersberger: A Swiss as Surveyor and City Planner in California, 1851-1857," 3-14; biog., 3  
 Suffragette Movement, 1919-1920, 343-350  
 Swiss Hotel, San Jose, California, 205  
  
 Taft, William Howard, 226  
 Taverna, J. J., 212  
 Teague, Charles Collins, 118-130 *passim*  
 Teague, Charles McKeveit, 131  
 Teague, Donald, 127, 129  
 Teague-McKeveit Ranch, 123, 130  
 Tejon Ranch, California, 16, 150, 237-250 *passim*  
*They Sang for Horses: The Impact of the Horse on Navajo and Apache Folklore*, by LaVerne Harrell Clark, rev., 178-179  
 Thomas, Alfred Caldwell, 141  
 Thompson, Robert, 64, 65  
 Thompson, William C., 73  
 Tinker, Dr. Chauncey B., 278, 281  
 Title Guarantee and Trust Company, 143, 144  
 Title Insurance and Trust Company, see "Pioneering Land Development in the Californias," 15-39, 141-155, 237-250 *passim*  
*To California and the South Seas: The Diary of Albert G. Osburn, 1849-1851*, John Haskell Kemble, ed., rev., 86-87  
 "To California on the *Sarah Sands*: Footnote Eight," by Kenneth M. Johnson, 73-74  
 Townsend, Dr. (San Francisco), 56  
 Townsend, Permelia, 59  
 Tracy, F. P. (1857), 255  
*The Trains We Rode*, by Lucius Beebe and Donald Clegg, rev., 85-86  
 Treutlein, Theodore E., "The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770," 291-313; biog., 291; rev. of Gibson, *Spain in America*, 358-361  
 Turner, Frederick Jackson, see "Wider Frontiers," 219-236; port., 219  
 Turner, J. M. (Nevada, 1857), 255  
  
 Union Oil of California (1890), 119  
 United States Dept. of Labor (1941), 127  
*United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives: A Calendar*, by Finbar Kennedy, O.F.M., rev., 83-85  
 United States Mail Steamship Company, 49  
*Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer*, ed. by Francis P. Farquhar, rev., 361  
  
 Valdés, Juan Bautista (1769), 295  
 Valpurga, Louis, 212  
 Van Camp (of Toronto), 25  
 Vance, Robert, insert between 72-73  
 Vecchi, P. de, 204  
 Ventura County, California, 113-140  
 Vila, Vicente (1769), 292  
 Villa, Pancho, 330, 331  
 Vizcaíno, Fray Juan, 293  
  
 Wagner, Henry Raup; Bibliography of Works, 274-276; Honorary Degrees, 277-278; Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award, 280; see "More Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner, Including Tributes and Bibliographies," 273-284  
 War, study of, see "Wider Frontiers," 219-236  
 Warner, Jack, 122



- Watkins, Captain J. T., 51
- Weber, Francis J., rev. of Kenneally, *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives: A Calendar*, 83-85
- Webster, George A. (San Francisco), 208
- Weed, Charles, insert between 72-73
- Weinstein, Robert A., "San Francisco, 1851—A Pictorial Essay," insert between 72-73
- Weller, John, 255-266 *passim*
- Welsh, Thomas J., 204
- Wenceslaus Linck's Diary of His 1766 Expedition to Northern Baja California*, by Ernest J. Burrus, rev., 352
- Western America in 1846-1847: The Original Travel Diary of Lieutenant J. W. Abert Who Mapped New Mexico for the United States Army*, ed. by John Galvin, rev., 179-180
- Wheat, Carl I., 278
- Wheeler, John A., 251
- Whigs (political party), 251-272 *passim*
- Whitley, H. J., 237
- "Wider Frontiers—Questions of War and Conflict in American History: The Strange Solution by Frederick Jackson Turner," by Wilbur R. Jacobs, 219-236
- Williams, Roger, 223
- Wilson, Henry Lane (1913), 316-323 *passim*
- Wilson, Iris Higbie, "In Memoriam: John Christian Wolfskill," 366-368
- Wilson, Woodrow, 224, 231, 315-328 *passim*, 330, 331
- Wise, Henry (of Virginia), 252
- Wolfskill, John Christian, "In Memoriam," 366-368
- Woolman, John, 223
- Worden, Perry, 281
- Work, S. W., 58
- Works, Senator John D., 332, 333, 334-335
- Wroth, Lawrence C., 281
- Yorba, Antonio, 294, 295
- Zabriskie, Colonel James, 262-263
- Zamorano Club, *see* "More Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner," 273-284
- Zapata, Emiliano (1913), 320





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# CONTENTS FOR VOLUME FORTY-SEVEN

NUMBER 1

MARCH 1968

Page

Julius Kellersberger: A Swiss as Surveyor and City Planner in California, 1851-1857 . . . . .	3
By Jack J. Studer	
Pioneering Land Development in the Californias: An Interview with David Otto Brant . . . . .	15
Edited, with an Introduction, by Noel J. Stowe	
Sketches of Dr. Glen Owen Hardeman: California Gold Rush Physician . . . . .	41
By Nicholas P. Hardeman	
San Francisco, 1831—A Pictorial Essay . . . . .	<i>Insert between pages 72 and 73</i>
By Robert A. Weinstein	
To California on the <i>Sarah Sands</i> : Footnote Eight . . . . .	73
By Kenneth M. Johnson	
Book Reviews . . . . .	75
News of the Society	
In Memoriam . . . . .	89
Book of Remembrance . . . . .	92

NUMBER 2

JUNE 1968

Page

Lady Bountiful: Margaret Crocker of Sacramento . . . . .	99
By Barbara Lowney	
The Era of the Lemon: A History of Santa Paula, California . . . . .	113
By Michael R. Belknap	
Pioneering Land Development in the Californias: An Interview with David Otto Brant . . . . .	141
Edited, with an Introduction, by Noel J. Stowe	
Judah Philip Benjamin in California . . . . .	157
By Edgar M. Kahn	
Book Reviews . . . . .	175
Book Notes . . . . .	183
By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager	



	Page
Democracy in Banking: The Bank of Italy and California's Italians . . .	195
By Joseph Giovinco	
<i>Wider Frontiers</i> —Questions of War and Conflict in American History:	
The Strange Solution by Frederick Jackson Turner . . . . .	219
By Wilbur R. Jacobs	
Pioneering Land Development in the Californias: An Interview	
with David Otto Brant . . . . .	237
Edited, with an Introduction, by Noel J. Stowe	
Edward Stanly: First Republican Candidate for Governor	
of California . . . . .	251
By Norman D. Brown	
More Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner, Including	
Tributes and Biographies . . . . .	273
By Ruth Frey Axe	

	Page
The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770 . . . . .	291
By Theodore E. Treutlein	
Reginald del Valle: A California Diplomat's Sojourn in Mexico . . .	315
By Kenneth J. Grieb	
California Progressives and Foreign Policy . . . . .	329
By Thomas G. Paterson	
Katherine Philips Edson and the California	
Suffragette Movement, 1919-1920 . . . . .	343
By Jean Logwy	
Book Reviews . . . . .	351
News of the Society	
In Memoriam . . . . .	366
Members of the Society . . . . .	369
Committee Members of the Society . . . . .	377
Officers of the Society . . . . .	378
Index To Volume Forty-Seven . . . . .	383
By Everett G. and Anna Marie Hager	

## ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>Page</i>
Julius Kellersberger . . . . .	3
Map of Ranchos Vicente and Domingo Peralta, Surveyed by Julius Kellersberger . . . . .	5
A Complete Map of Oakland by Julius Kellersberger, Surveyor . .	7
O. F. Brant . . . . .	15
Harry Chandler . . . . .	15
Harrison Gray Otis . . . . .	15
Map of the Brant Rancho in San Fernando Valley . . . . .	17
Map Showing the Developed Area of the Colorado River Land Company, 1928 . . . . .	20
Topographical Map Showing a Portion of the Land Belonging to the Colorado River Land Company, 1904 . . . . .	21
Dr. Glen Owen Hardeman at Age of Fifty-two in 1877 . . . . .	41
The Rockland Lime Works . . . . .	63
The Rockland Lime Works: The Kiln . . . . .	63
Residence of Mr. Thompson, Near Santa Clara in California, 1832 .	65
Santa Clara Valley from the Hills . . . . .	66
San Francisco, 1851. The Golden City as the Argonauts Saw It . . . . .	Between 72-73
Mrs. E. B. Crocker . . . . .	99
Sacramento City during the Great Flood of 1862: K Street east from Fourth Street . . . . .	Between 104-105
Sacramento City during the Great Flood of 1862: K Street west from Fourth Street . . . . .	Between 104-105
Sacramento City during the Great Flood of 1862: J Street east of Third Street . . . . .	Between 104-105
J Street from Levee . . . . .	Between 104-105
View of J Street, Sacramento during the Flood . . . . .	Between 104-105
Sacramento City during the Great Flood: View taken from the R Street Level, looking North . . . . .	Between 104-105
Sacramento City: Central R.R. Works at China Slough . . . . .	Between 104-105
Citrus Groves, Santa Paula . . . . .	115



	<i>Page</i>
Santa Paula Union School . . . . .	116
Santa Paula, 1905 . . . . .	117
The Great Imperial Valley: Seven Pages of Illustrations	Between 144-145
Judah P. Benjamin . . . . .	157
A. P. Giannini, 1896 . . . . .	195
Construction of Bank Headquarters at 1 Powell Street, San Francisco in 1920. A. P. Giannini and his Daughter Claire in Center . . . . .	200
The Original Ferry Building, foot of Market Street, San Francisco, 1876 . . . . .	200
Newspaper Advertisement of the Bank of Italy, 1920 . . . . .	201
Newspaper Advertisement of the Bank of Italy, 1913 . . . . .	202
Frederick Jackson Turner . . . . .	219







